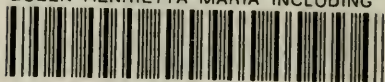


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HENRIETTA MARIA # LETTERS OF
QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA INCLUDING



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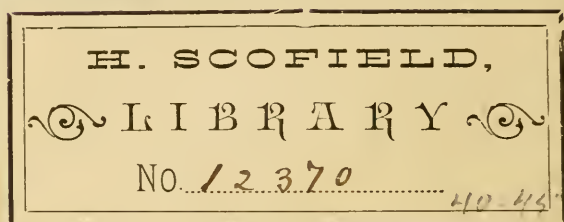
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R. A. Heath

1857



LETTERS
OF
QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA,
INCLUDING
HER PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE WITH
CHARLES THE FIRST.

COLLECTED FROM THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES AND PRIVATE
LIBRARIES OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

EDITED BY
MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN,

EDITOR OF "LETTERS OF ROYAL AND ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES,"
AUTHOR OF "LIVES OF THE PRINCESSES OF ENGLAND," ETC.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

M.D.CCC.LVII.

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GROVE AND SON,
PRINTERS, TOWER STREET, CITY.

TO

LADY THERESA LEWIS.

AUTHOR OF "THE CLARENDON GALLERY, ETC."

DEAR LADY THERESA,

I gladly avail myself of your kind permission to dedicate this Volume to you, not only as a memento of personal esteem, but from my conviction that the materials of history cannot be more suitably inscribed than to one who has shewn the power of using them so worthily.

I am, dear Lady Theresa,

Your sincerely obliged,

MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

7, Upper Gower Street.

November 14, 1856.

7/14/64

P R E F A C E.

THE publication of the following series of letters of one of our most talented and unfortunate English Queens is the result, not of any preconcerted design thus to illustrate her changeful personal history, but of accidental circumstances which threw into my way several collections of her letters, the possession of which suggested the idea of gathering together such others as I could find, and publishing them in a connected series.

Some years ago, when engaged in literary researches in Paris, I was indebted to M. Guizot, who was then in power, and to M. Mignet, keeper of the "Archives des Affaires Etrangères," for a number of extracts from, and copies of letters in those archives, relating to the English princesses, materials for whose biographies I was then collecting. At the same time, were sent, unsolicited, and unexpected, transcripts of about forty letters

from Queen Henrietta Maria, addressed to Cardinal Mazarin, and others connected with the French court, which I read with interest and laid aside as irrelevant to my purpose.

Presently, I met with a MS. in the Harleian Collection, in the British Museum, briefly calendared as containing letters from Henrietta Maria to Charles I., but without individual specification of their dates and contents. On opening the Volume, I was struck alike with the curiosity and perplexity of its contents. It consists, for ninety-nine folios, of transcripts, by a scribe totally ignorant of French, of the queen's letters, evidently copied from the originals as they lay in a heap before him, without the slightest regard to date, or place, or even to the unity of the letters. Several which evidently occupied different sheets of paper, are separated in the transcripts, and the commencement and termination are many pages apart; sometimes the sense of a letter will break off abruptly, without any seeming break in the MS., the copyist having proceeded with an entirely different letter, as though it were a continuation of the same. Added to this, the words are often run into one another, or one word is divided into two: those letters of the alphabet which the queen formed somewhat

alike, as v and r, are perpetually interchanged, and the misspellings are abundant.

It was not, under these circumstances, a very easy task to come to a clear comprehension of those letters which were written in the ordinary character, and the difficulty was much increased by the greater part of the correspondence being in cipher, with the deciphering sometimes interlined, and sometimes partially or totally omitted. The plan adopted was of course to compile a key from the deciphered passages, and to apply it to read those which were left untouched. This was a work of time and labour, but at length the mystical characters began to yield to the talisman of the key, which became gradually more full and efficient; when on turning over a fresh folio, the key proved utterly unavailing; the cipher was completely different, and the process once gone through, had to be repeated for a second, a third, and a fourth cipher; for so often, during the brief space of three years, did watchful caution suggest the change of the mysterious symbols which were to embody the most secret thoughts of the royal pair.

The correspondence between the king and queen, during their first long separation after their marriage, commenced in March, 1642, when Queen

Henrietta conveyed her daughter Mary, the Princess Royal, to Holland, to join her affianced spouse, the young Prince of Orange. The first cipher, concerted between them before they parted, was planned with much ingenuity. The alphabet is expressed by figures or symbols, small words by a combination of figures and letters, and proper names by pseudonymes ; in order better to mislead any unwary intercepters of letters, the king and queen, and their confidential adherents, assumed the names of the principal leaders of the opposite party, as Pym, Hampden, Essex, &c. This portion of the correspondence has proved the most embarrassing, as in no one instance is the decipherment of any of these proper names given ; the pseudonymes were evidently too familiar to the correspondents to require it. The true names are supplied from careful consideration of the parties and circumstances, sometimes with certainty, sometimes conjecturally with queries, when I was not quite satisfied about the correctness of my conclusion. The first cipher closes with August 18th, 1642, when for fear of discovery, it was thought advisable to adopt a second. This consists entirely of figures, excepting the smaller words, in which the compound of figures and letters used in the first

are repeated occasionally. The single letters and blanks occupy the number 1 to 77, and the higher numbers, up to 339, are devoted to proper names, which follow each other in alphabetical sequence, as regards the initial only, with a few simple words interspersed, and such as were likely to be frequently required. This cipher was used between the king and queen, until Henrietta's return to England, in the spring of 1643, and afterwards in the correspondence between her and the Earl of Newcastle, much of which exists in the original, in the Harl. MSS.

In the summer of 1644, the queen again left England, and now a much more elaborated cipher was deemed necessary. The crisis of affairs had become so important, and the letters of the royal pair were so eagerly watched for, that it was thought advisable not to blend the cipher with the ordinary character as was before done, but to send the letters in the form of a sheet of figures, without date, or signature, or any clue, by handwriting or otherwise, to the writer. On this account, the cipher which is on the same principle as that last described, is much more comprehensive, including a large range of words, and of parts of words in frequent use, so as to diminish as far as possible the labour of using it. Single letters and blanks

occupy the numbers up to 80, thence to 322 names of persons and places, and upwards as high as 574, words of frequent recurrence. The queen's portions, on account of her delicacy of health, were generally put into cipher by her constant attendant Lord Jermyn, and his lordship used the same cipher in a correspondence which he carried on, under the queen's direction, with Dr. Goffe, her agent in Holland. The originals of these latter letters are preserved in the State Paper Office, and have materially assisted in the formation of the key, as they are all carefully deciphered. The last cipher came into operation as late as April 1645, just before the closing of this portion of the correspondence, and was only used on very few occasions, when the king and queen had some point on which they wished to disclose their sentiments to each other, without the cognizance of even their closest adherents.

The historical value of these letters, when translated and chronologically arranged, seemed to me so great, that I decided on giving them to the world, in connection with those already named from the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, with the queen's earlier letters, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and her later ones from the Archiepiscopal Library, at Lambeth, and the

State Paper Office. With these, are blended a few previously in print, chiefly in the ponderous folio collections of printed State Papers of the period.

The editorial remarks and annotations appended to the letters are extremely slight: the book is offered as furnishing the *materials* of history, and not as history; the contents of the letters touching upon the agitated points of the stormiest period of English history, would require, for their complete elucidation, a much fuller investigation into the politics of the times than I have either the leisure to undertake, or the ability to conduct successfully.

To John Bruce, Esq. of the Camden Society, I have to offer my best thanks for many valuable suggestions as the volume was passing through the press, and also to MM. Guizot and Mignet, M. Paulin Paris, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Dr. Maitland, formerly of the Lambeth Library, for facilities afforded in collecting the letters, which, though granted long ago, should not on that account, remain unacknowledged.

MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

7, Upper Gower Street,

November 14, 1856.

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L E T T E R S
OF
QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

To Madame de Montglat.

[Miss Strickland's Queens, Edit. 1845, vol. viii. p. 35. From the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.]

HENRIETTA MARIA of France, the youngest child of Henri Quatre, was born on the 25th of November, 1609. Her early education was confided to Madame la Marquise de Montglat, whose husband, Robert de Harlay, occupied the post of the first maître d'hotel to the king.

In the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill, is a series of valuable MS. volumes, the letter-books of Queen Marie de Medicis, containing copies of her private as well as public letters. From these, curious information is elicited in reference to the early training of the royal children of France. Their mother was extremely exact in her orders, and herself superintended even the minuter details of their mode of life, though at a distance, for

they were not frequently or continuously with her. "Let me always hear everything about them," she writes, "even to their private pastimes."*

They were early accustomed to receive in state the visits of foreign ambassadors and other persons of distinction, and notions of their own dignity were early and carefully instilled. In her letters, we find the queen prohibiting the admission of any but persons of quality to see the young Dauphin, then a mere infant, afterwards Louis XIII., and commanding that these should be instructed to shew him all proper respect. The consequence of all this deference was that the child grew up petulant and stubborn, and the governess was at length compelled to solicit permission to inflict personal chastisement, as it was otherwise impossible to keep up any sort of discipline. The permission was granted, but very reluctantly, and on the condition that it should only be made use of as a *dernier ressort*, lest the boy should throw himself into such furious passions as might injure his health. At the same time, the queen ordered a letter to be written, which was to be kept secret from the *gouvernante*, to M. Heruard, physician to the royal children, requiring him to see that this discipline should not be inflicted without the utmost caution. It was used, and a marked improvement was the result.†

In 1607, Madame de Montglat lost her husband; the queen wrote her a kind letter of condolence, but hinted at the same time, in unmistakeable terms, that her private sorrows were not to interfere with her duties; that she was not to pass the usual period in retirement; that she was to abstain from tears in presence of the children, to be as vigilant over them as ever, and even to strive to keep up their gaiety.‡

The greatest care was taken to shield the children from the

* Phillipps MS. 3181, vol. iv. folio 361 b.

† Ibid. vol. i. ff. 85b, 476, 477b, vol. ii. f. 243b.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. f. 206.

plague, or any other infectious disorder, but in spite of all precautions, one of Henrietta's sisters, the princess Chrétienne, and her youngest brother, the Duke of Anjou, were seized with the small-pox. The princess was extremely ill: and though the queen could not venture to see her, she wrote to her, praising her for being a good girl and taking her medicine well, and sending her a little present as a reward. When they were recovered, the Duke of Anjou was taken publicly in his coach through the streets of Paris, to convince the loyal people of his convalescence.*

When Henrietta was about two years old, she was slightly indisposed, and her mother thus addressed the *gouvernante* :—

“Madame de Montglat,—I am very glad that my son, the Duke of Orleans, begins to get better of his cold, and that my son of Anjou, and my two eldest daughters are still in good health: but as to what I have ascertained, both from your letter and from what the Sieur Petit has told me, that my little daughter is indisposed of the fever which has again seized her, I send this lackey to you expressly to bring tidings of her, and to let me know exactly the state of her disease; I shall meanwhile give orders that the physician Paulin shall come to you to see her and assist her, at any time when you may let me know that it is necessary. Take care then that my said daughter lacks nothing that might afford any remedy or solace to her complaint, and send me word about her. Meanwhile I pray God, &c.

“At Fontainebleau. 6th October, 1611.”†

The children resided principally at St. Germain-en-Laye. Occasionally their parents met them at St. Cloud, and spent a day with them there, and sometimes they were sent for to Paris, and domiciled in the palace of the Luxembourg.‡ They were allowed,

* Ibid. vol. iv. ff. 222, 225.

† Ibid. vol. iii. f. 296.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. ff. 225b, 237b, 430b. Vol. iii. ff. 14, 196, 334, 519, &c.

by way of relaxation, to divert themselves with private comedies, and the queen sometimes came to be a spectator of their little performances. Henrietta Maria's strong penchant for private theatricals was thus formed almost in her nursery; and there too was cherished, or rather allowed to grow unchecked, the petulance and self-will which marred the happiness of her early married life;* and which, although subdued in the school of misfortune, were never entirely conquered.

The following note to Madame de Montglat, whom she habitually addressed by the familiar epithet of *Mamangat*, was written in apology for some display of unamiable temper:—

Mamangat,

I pray you excuse me if you saw my little sulky fit which held me this morning. I cannot be right all of a sudden; but I will do all I can to content you; meantime, I beg you will no longer be angry with me, who am and will be all my life, Mamangat,

Your affectionate friend,

HENRIETTA.†

To the Prince of Wales.

[Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xvii.]

Royal love-letters have seldom much interest, but in the present case the parties were not unknown to each other. Prince Charles

* Ibid. vol. iii. ff. 196, 250, 300.

† There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a whole volume of the little notes addressed by the children of Henry IV. to their "Mamangat;" but having unfortunately mislaid the reference, the editor has not been able to obtain transcripts of any other of the early epistles of Henrietta.

had seen and admired the beautiful Henrietta, when on his way to Spain, to win his Spanish bride, and the feeling was reciprocated by the Princess. On the completion of the treaty, Charles thus addressed his bride elect:—

“ I have not dared to take the liberty of testifying to you, by a single line, the great impatience with which my spirit has been tormented, during my long waiting for the happy accomplishment of this treaty, until I received good tidings of it; begging you to be assured that, besides the renown of your virtues and perfections, which is everywhere spread abroad, my happiness has been completed by the honour which I have already had of seeing your person, although unknown to you; which sight has completely satisfied me that the exterior of your person in no degree belies the lustre of your virtues. But I cannot, by writing, express the passion of my soul to have the honour of being esteemed,

“ Yours, &c.”

The answer of the Princess was as follows:—

Sir,

The impatience which you shew me you have had, during the time the treaty was pending, and the satisfaction that you tell me you have received on the news of what has been accomplished here, give me certain assurance of your good will towards me, as you represent it by your letter. The king my brother and the queen my mother being willing that I should receive these testimonies of your affection, I will only say that if that has not an assured foundation in all the good which it makes you imagine in me, at least you will find a readiness to shew

you that you will not oblige an ungrateful person, and that I am, and shall always be,

Your very humble and very affectionate servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.*

To the Prince of Wales.

[Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. Appendix p. xviii].

After the first *billet-doux*, the next step was the dispatch of a present, which was sent to the Princess by one of her lover's servants, with the following note :—

“ Your favours embolden me to beg you to do me the honour of accepting this little present, which my servant will give you from me. Although it is totally unworthy of you, yet I hope you will receive it in good part, as coming from him who will be very glad to risk his life in your service, wishing nothing more than to be honoured with your commands, and to have some opportunity of shewing by deeds, how much I am, Madam,

“ Yours, &c.”

This produced the following acknowledgment :—

Not being able worthily to commend the presents you have been pleased to send me, nor to thank you for them, I refer myself to Mr. Carey, to express to you the esteem I have for them ; as also how much I cherish the honour of your friendship, the continuance of which will always be as agreeable to me as the opportunities of shewing you that I am

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.*

* In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a volume containing many more of the love-notes between Charles and Henrietta.

To Louis XIII.

[Du Puy MS. 462, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.]

The papal dispensation was of course necessary to the completion of a marriage between a Catholic princess and a Protestant prince. Pope Urban gave the required consent, accompanying it with a letter to the princess, which was just of a character to rouse the enthusiasm of a young and ardent girl. The Pope expressly tells her that had it not been for the hope afforded by her character, that she, as queen in a heretic country, would be the guardian angel and safeguard of her oppressed fellow-religionists, he should never have granted the dispensation for her marriage. He encourages her to become the Esther of her oppressed people, the Clothilde who subdued to Christ her victorious husband, the Aldiberga whose nuptials brought religion into Britain; for that the eyes of the whole world, and of the spiritual world too, are turned upon her.*

He wrote to her again, in a similar strain, on the 26th of March, 1625, when sending over Cardinal Barberini to officiate at her marriage; and Henrietta was fully impressed with the notion that "her mission in England was not so much to reign as to procure the reign of popery.†"

On the eve of her betrothal to the Prince of Wales, Henrietta thus solemnly declared, alike to her brother and the Pope, her resolution to do all in her power to pervert the faith of the future kings of England. Blame does not attach to her for strenuous adherence to that which she firmly believed to be right, but to the weakness of a concession which gave the future queen the charge of her children up to their thirteenth year.

Those of the latter would have appeared here, but their publication is omitted in courtesy to Dr. Bandinel, who has selected the volume as his contribution to the Roxburgh Club.

* George the Fourth's MSS. No. 135, p. 1062. Date 29th Dec. 1624.

† Serault, oraison funèbre de Henriette Marie, 4to. Paris, 1670.

Sire,

Amongst the deep obligations I owe to your majesty for the proofs you have given me of your royal affection and benevolence, in contracting the marriage between the Prince of Wales and me, there is none which more sensibly touches my heart, and the memory of which I cherish more cordially, than the particular care you have taken about the things that concern the surety of my conscience : wherefore I render you most humble thanks for it : and as I desire religiously to heep and observe your majesty's sincere intentions, as well in what concerns me and mine, as in what may be useful and advantageous to the religion and to the Catholics of Great Britain, I give your majesty my faith and word of conscience, that if it so be that it please God to bless this marriage, so as to give me the favour of progeny, I will make no selection of persons to bring up and serve the children who may be born, except from Catholics ; I will only give the charge of choosing these officers to Catholics, obliging them to take none but those of the same religion. Of this I entreat your majesty to have full assurance, and to give it where need requires, and to believe me, Sire,

Your most humble and most obedient sister and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To the King my brother.

To Pope Urban VIII.

[MS. Geo. IV. No. 134, folio 476 b.]

Most holy Father,

I have learned and understood, through my lord the king, the careful and prudent counsels and advice which it has pleased your highness to give him, on the occasion of the treaty made in reference to my marriage with the Prince of Wales, and for those things which concern the security of my conscience and that of my attendants, and as to my dignity in England, and also for the good of religion, and the liberty of the Catholics of that kingdom; which his majesty has accomplished, according to his zeal for the said religion, and the singular affection and kindness with which he is pleased to honour me, so that all these good and earnest services give me the greatest consolation which I can receive in the accomplishment of this marriage, having nothing in the world which is so dear to me as the safety of my conscience and the good of religion. Following the good training and instructions of the queen my mother, I have thought it my duty to render, as I do, very humble thanks to your holiness, that you have been pleased on your part to contribute hereto; giving you my faith and word of honour, and in conformity with that which I have given to his majesty, that if it please God to bless this marriage, and if he grant me the favour to give me progeny, I will not choose any but Catholics to nurse or educate the children who shall be born, or do any other service for them, and will take care

that the officers who choose them be only Catholics, obliging them only to take others of the same religion ; concerning which I very humbly pray your holiness to rest fully assured, and to do me the honour to believe me, most holy father,

Your very devoted daughter,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

Paris, April 6, 1625.

To our most holy father, the Pope.

To Queen Marie de Medicis.

[Bethune MS. 9310. Holograph. Bibliothèque impériale.]

In June, 1625, Henrietta Maria arrived in England, as the bride of Charles I.

The king of France had an attack of illness in June, 1627, which so far excited the anxiety of his sister that she sent Mr. Jermyn to inquire after him. It was probably on his recovery from this illness that the queen wrote the following letter to her mother :—

Madam,

The king my lord and I, having learned the illness of the king, my brother, and having been happy enough to hear at the same time of his cure, send the Lord Montague to congratulate his happy convalescence, and also to learn more assuredly the state of his health ; and for my own part, I shall have no rest till I hear tidings from him and from your majesty, whose apprehensions will, I fear, have caused some alteration in your own health, which I pray God may not be the case, since nothing in the world could happen which would make me so unhappy. I can

assure your majesty with what sympathy the king, my lord, received this ill news, and also with what joy, that of his cure, taking such interest in all that concerns the king my brother and your majesty ; which he has commanded me to assure your majesty from him, and what a desire he has to see a perfect intelligence between your majesty and himself ; and as to me, I can say with truth that I have always recognised in him this desire, even to an extreme ; and also that of being in your majesty's good graces, and that you would be pleased to regard him as your good son.

As for me, madam, it would be the greatest satisfaction that could ever happen to me, to see that intelligence such as I desire it, and I know that the king, my lord, will not contradict me in all this, nor in many things that I have commanded the said Lord Montague to say to your majesty from me ; for he and I desire to address ourselves to you, as being the person in the world to whom we would always testify the respect that we bear you. And for my own part, I would most humbly entreat you to consider the passion which I have and have ever had for your service, which I shall continue even to death, and in spite of all those who would do me ill offices with you. I will not write more for fear of troubling you, except to beg you to give credence to all that Lord Montague will say to you from me, and so believe me, madam,

Your most humble and most obedient daughter and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To the Queen my mother.

To Queen Marie de Medicis.

[Bethune MS. 9310, folio 13. Holograph.]

In January, 1629, Henrietta sent Ventelet, one of her servants, to announce to the queen, her mother, the prospect of her at length giving an heir to the British throne.* Two letters to her mother on the subject are in preservation.† But in May, 1629, the hopes of the king and queen were frustrated by the premature birth and death of an infant.‡ Henrietta alludes to this circumstance in the following letter to her mother :—

Madam,

I have received the greatest satisfaction in learning from the ambassador the honour your majesty does me. I most humbly entreat you to believe that I have not a stronger desire in the world than that of the honour of your good favour, and that I would rather die than ever give you occasion to withdraw it. The ambassador has told me that your majesty complained that Cognet and Sivet had not taken leave of you. As to Sivet, you know that he has had a quarrel in France, and that he was constrained to leave without anybody knowing anything of it, because he was warned that his enemies were waiting for him at St. Denis to play him an ill trick. As to Cognet, he has told me that when he received the news

* Court and Times of Charles I. vol. ii. p. 7.

† Bethune, MS. 9,310, ff. 40, 43.

‡ A letter from Charles I. to the Queen-Mother of France, announcing this event, is in the French ancient royal letters, in the State Paper Office, dated May 24, 1629.

of my misfortune* he went to find the cardinal of ——— who took him to your majesty with the letter, and that he entreated you there to give him his *congé*, and that you granted it him. He had the honour of kissing your robe, set off on Tuesday; and this was Sunday in the evening. I wished to render your majesty an account of that, for I should be very sorry that any of my servants should ever do anything to displease you, for I would not keep them any longer; and also to entreat your majesty to believe that I am not foolish enough to remonstrate against what you are pleased to say, and that I shall always think the least testimony you are pleased to give me of your friendship too much honour, desiring nothing so much as that you should believe me,

Your most humble and most obedient daughter and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To the Queen my mother.

To the Prince of Piedmont.

[From the original in the private Collection of M. Charon, Holog.]

The person to whom this letter is addressed is Victor Amadeus, Prince of Piedmont, afterwards Duke of Savoy, the husband of Henrietta's younger sister, Chrétienne, who had just given birth to an infant.

Brother,

I doubt not that you have received with much displeasure the news of the accident that has happened to

* The queen alludes to her premature confinement.

me, but, thank God, the danger is past, and as to my loss, I wish to forget it, in order to participate with you in the pleasure which my sister's happy *accouchement* has caused you, which I do, not the more readily from love to her than to you, to whom I am infinitely obliged for the care you always shew of me and of my health, as *Sieur Case* will tell you, from, brother,

Your very affectionate sister,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

In another hand.

From Henley. August 15th, 1629.

To my brother the Prince of Piedmont.

To Queen Marie de Medicis.

[Bethune MS. 9310, folio 35. Holog. 1630.]

It was reported that one cause of the queen's recent misfortune was, that she had taken too much walking exercise. In the spring of 1630, therefore, when there was again a prospect of her becoming a mother, Marie de Medicis sent her daughter the present of a chaise, with a letter full of maternal cautions upon her conduct. The queen thus acknowledged her mother's kindness :—

Madam,

I know not how to thank your majesty enough for the honour you have done me, and for the beautiful chaise you have sent me, which is handsomer than I deserve. Had I even no wish to go out in a chaise, that would make me go, in addition to the command of your majesty, which I shall ever try to observe with all the submission

that I owe you, and which is in my power. I hope God may grant me the favour to go to the end of my term, and as to what depends upon me, I shall take all possible care of myself. I am so enchanted with the little heart that your majesty did me the honour of sending me, and with the little box that it was in, that I hardly dare thank you for it, for fear of not doing it worthily enough, and of not being able to express my joy. I always wear it on my neck, for I fancy it brings me such good fortune that I am always afraid when I am without it. All that comes from your majesty can bring me only content and happiness from your hands, which I shall ever try to merit, with as much fidelity as I am, madam,

Your most humble and most obedient daughter and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To the Queen my mother.

Along with the letter of Henrietta Maria, was sent the following from Charles I.,* which presents a pleasing picture of the domestic union of the royal pair :—

“ Madam, I take as a particular obligation the care that you are pleased to continue to your daughter, for on her preservation, and on this new hope that God has given us, depends my content. You have found a sure expedient for delivering us from the danger of coaches, by the pleasure my wife will take in going out in the beautiful chaise you have sent her ; but, thank God, she is so careful of herself that I have no need to use other authority than that of love. The only dispute that now exists between us

* Bethune MS. 9310, folio 57. Holog.

is that of conquering each other by affection, both esteeming ourselves victorious in following the will of each other; and both happy, if we may have the opportunity of rendering you obedience as your children; and I, in particular, of shewing you how much I am, madam,

“Your very affectionate son-in-law and servant,

“CHARLES R.”

To Madame St. George.

[Bethune MS. 9293, folio 5. Bibliothèque Nationale. Holog.]

The “Mamie St. George,”* to whom the following and several other letters of the queen are addressed, was Jeanne de Harlay, only child of Madame de Montglat, Henrietta’s former governess, who was married, in 1599, to Hardouin de Clermont, Seigneur de St. George, and transmitted the barony of Montglat to her son, the memoir-writing Marquis de Montglat. In 1610, Madame St. George, at the earnest request of the queen, obtained permission from her husband, to assume the office of sub-governess to the princess Chrétienne, with a proviso that she was to assist her mother generally in the charge of the children, and to take her place in case of illness or absence.† She was afterwards more particularly attached to the service of Henrietta, between whom and herself there subsisted a warm and lasting friendship.

Sept. 1630.

Mamie St. George,

If I have been long a time without writing to you, it has been on account of the progress, from which we have only just returned a week ago, being so far away from any opportunity of writing; you know the place,

* A contraction for Mon Amie St. George.

† Middlehill MS. *ut supra*.

it is at Tichfield; now we are at Hampton Court, where we shall stay six weeks. I think you will have heard of the illness of Rantelet; she has been very near death, but now she is well again, thank God. As for me, I am in very good health, which is no small matter, for I think that more than half the people in the house have been ill of a new sort of fever, which is prevalent here.

If my son knew how to talk, I think he would send you his compliments; he is so fat and so tall, that he is taken for a year old, and he is only four months: his teeth are already beginning to come: I will send you his portrait as soon as he is a little fairer, for at present he is so dark that I am ashamed of him.

I have ordered Pin to be written to, to know from him whether he would be so good as to return into England to serve me; but only to make my petticoat waists. I beg you to speak to Garnier, for it is he whom I told to write, and to know what answer he has had. I also entreat you to speak yourself to Pin, or write to him that it is only to make my petticoat waists, and should he make any difficulty about it, if he will take one voyage to make me one, he may return and make them afterwards for me at Paris; for the one you last sent me is so heavy and so narrow that I have not been able to put it on. I have still my velvet one, got two years ago, which is so short for me, and so far worn, that I am greatly in want of another. I entreat you to send me the answer as soon as you can, and to believe that I shall never forget you, and that you will so find it by

the results. Praying God to have you in His holy keeping,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To Mamie St. George.

To Madame St. George.

[Miss Strickland's *Queens*, vol. viii. p. 60. From the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.]

[1631.]

Mamie St. George,

As the husband of my son's nurse is going to France, about some business of his wife, I write you this letter by him, believing that you will be very glad to ask him news of my son, whose portrait, which I sent to the queen my mother, I think you have seen. He is so ugly, that I am ashamed of him, but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the gentleman, for he has no ordinary mien; he is so serious in all that he does, that I cannot help fancying him far wiser than myself.

Send me a dozen pairs of sweet chamois gloves, and also I beg you to send me one of doeskin; a game of *joucheries*,* one of *poule*† and the rules of any species of games now in vogue. I assure you, that if I do not

* *Jouchets* are a set of small sticks, in the form of rushes, which are used to play with. The game is somewhat similar to that of spellicans.

† Probably some game at cards.

write to you so often as I might, it is not because I have left off loving you, but because—I must confess it—I am very idle ; also I am ashamed to avow that I think I am on the increase again ; nevertheless, I am not quite certain. Adieu, the man must have my letter.

This letter gives the girlish phase of the queen's character, which she preserved so fully that the following spring we find her heading a train of lords and ladies, filling no fewer than one hundred and fifty coaches, on a Maying expedition. The queen was dressed *à l'Anglaise*, and no sooner was a bush spied, with its beautiful load of white and pearly blossoms, than she sprang out of her coach, gathered the first branch, and placed it in her hat. The party returned by water, their amusement being to watch the frolics of some stalwart Germans, who were trying with blunted lances to push each other from the prows of their boats into the water.* Her love of flowers is further illustrated by the following :—

To Queen Marie de Medicis.

[Bethune MS. 9310 fol. 3. Holog.]

Madam,

As I am sending this man into France to get some fruit-trees and some flowers, I most humbly entreat your majesty to be pleased to assist him with your power, if by chance any one should do him wrong and hinder him ; you will do me much honour : I entreat you to keep me

* Gazettes de France, 1632, June 4th.

always in your good favour, which is the thing I esteem most in the world, so believe me, madam,

Your most humble and most obedient daughter and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To the Queen my mother.

To Madame St. George.

[Bethune MS. 9309, fol. 31. Holog.]

Mamie St. George,

I beg you to believe that I am not so ungrateful as to forget those who have served me as you have done, and that if I have not written, I have had many troubles, as you may easily suppose, which have so troubled my head that I was not myself. That having happened so inopportunately, I pray God that He would be pleased to re-appease all. I beg you to believe that I love you. As Quitin is going, he will tell you how I am, and that I am at Greenwich. My son has been a little unwell of a slight fever, but he is better, thank God. Kiss my niece* for the love of me.

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To Mamie St. George.

* Mdlle. de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to whose personal service Madame St. George was now attached.

To Madame St. George.

[Addit. MS. 18738, fol. 119. Holog.]

[1637.]

Mamie St. George,*

My embroiderer going to Paris on some business, I would not let him set out without writing you these few lines, which are only to assure you of the continuance of my friendship, which will always remain the same, whatever otherwise may be told you. If this poor man require your assistance for anything, you will oblige me by employing yourself therein; begging God to have you in His holy and worthy keeping. I beg you to send me word whether the king my brother is on as good terms with the queen as is reported here. I have so much pain in my eye that I scarcely see at all, and I think I shall be bled for it to-morrow.

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To Madame St. George.

To the Duke of Orleans.

[From the Private Collection of H. B. Ray, Esq.]

Brother,

I long since promised St. Auman to write to you in his favour, to beg you to forgive his having remained

* This note probably alludes to the dissensions between Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, which were terminated, or rather suspended, in 1637, through the influence of the king's confessor, Father Caussin, and of his virtuous friend and favourite, Mdle. de la Fayette.

with me ; I hope you will do it for my sake. His wife going at this time, I thought it a good opportunity to do so, and to beg you to continue your favour to him, and to believe that if it were in my power to shew my affection for you in anything, you may command it, and it would give me great delight ; but as I am not so happy, all that I can do is to assure you of it by my letters.

Being, brother, your very good sister,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

To my brother the Duke of Orleans.

To Madame St. George.

[Miss Strickland's Queens, vol. viii. p. 60. From the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.]

The date of this letter is probably Sept. 1633. It was written in the near anticipation of her *accouchement*, and the postscript shows that she already had at least two children. The birth of James, Duke of York, her third child, took place in October, 1633.

Mamie St. George,

Barbureau having asked leave to go to France for his private affairs, I would not let him depart without assuring you of the continuance of my friendship, and also to complain a little, that I have been so long without hearing of you. I know well you may retort the same thing ; but at this time I am out of London, and have no opportunity ; also, I am not a little incommoded with my size, which renders me indolent ; but assure yourself

that I fail not to remember you on all occasions, and that
I hope you will always find me,

Your affectionate friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Make my commendations to my niece. I am having the
portraits of my children and myself taken, which I shall
send to you very soon.

To Madame St. George.

[Bethune MS. 9293, fol. 22, Holog.]

The birth of the future heir of France, Louis XIV., alluded to
prospectively in this letter, took place in September, 1638.
Madame de Peronne, was the *sage femme*, who attended upon the
ladies of the French royal family, and who had several times been
sent over to England to bestow her services upon Queen Henrietta.

Mamie St. George,

Garnier going into France on his business, I would
not let him go without thanking you for the good news
you have given me of the pregnancy of the queen my
sister ; I pray God it may continue, and that it may be
a Dauphin. There will be work for Madame Peronne.
I must let her rest. Be ever assured of my friendship,
and that on all occasions you will find, more by effects
than by words, that I shall ever be, as I have promised
you, your good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Mamie St. George.

To Sir John Winton.

[Middlehill, MS. 2393, vol. i. English. In the collection of Sir Thomas Phillpps, Bart.]

When the fatal contests arose between Charles I. and the Parliament, the queen, who, from their very beginning, was an earnest participator in her husband's anxieties, strove to secure for him the adhesion of the Catholic party, by the weight of her personal influence, which was considerable, from her known zeal to the cause of Romanism. The following letter was written on occasion of the king's homeward journey in the summer of 1639, and was accompanied by letters from the Papal authorities, urging the same request. The power of acknowledgment to be given to those who complied with the solicitation, was as follows :—

“I, A. B. do acknowledge to have received of N. N., the day and year above written, the sum of * * *, his free gift for his majesty's service, recommended unto us by our gracious queen, upon occasion of his present journey with an army into the northern parts.”

The queen was afterwards subjected to a Parliamentary attack for this letter, which she parried, by stating that she was unaware of the illegality of the step, and merely did it from her anxiety to aid her husband.*

Henrietta Maria Regina.

We have so good a belief of the loyalty and affection of his majesty's subjects, as we doubt not but upon this occasion that hath called his majesty unto the northern parts, for the defence of his honour and dominions, they will express themselves so affected, as we have always represented them to his majesty: so in this common consent, which hath appeared unto the nobility, judges,

* Queen's message to the House, Feb. 6, 1640-1.

gentry, and others, to forward his majesty's service by their persons and their estates, we have made no difficulty to answer for the same correspondently in his Catholic subjects as Catholics; notwithstanding they have already concurred to his majesty's service, according to the qualities whereof they are, when others of the same quality were called upon; for we believed that it became us, who have been so often interested in the solicitation of their benefits, to shew ourselves now in the persuasion of their gratitudes. Therefore, having already, by other means, recommended to them this earnest desire of ours to assist and serve his majesty by some considerable sum of money, freely and cheerfully presented, we have thought fit, to the end that this our desire may be the more public and the more authorised, hereby to give you commission and direction to distribute copies, under our hand, of this testification thereof, unto those that have met at London by our direction, about this business, and unto the several collectors of every county. And as we presume the sum they will raise will not be unworthy of presenting to the king, so shall we be very sensible of it, as particular respect to ourselves, and will endeavour, in the most efficacious manner we can, to improve the merit of it, to remove any apprehension of prejudice that any who shall employ themselves towards the success of this business may conceive; by this they may be assured that we will secure them from all such objected inconveniences. And we are very confident that this our first recommendation will be so complied withal, as it may not only

afford us particular satisfaction, but also facilitation towards their own advantages.

Given under our signet at Whitehall,
this 17th of April, 1639.

To our trusty and well beloved councillor,
Sir John Winton, Knight, our principal secretary,
and master of requests, &c.

To the Earl of Cork.

[Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lvii. p. 677. English.]

“ This letter is addressed to Richard Boyle, the great Earl of Cork, who played so distinguished a part in the Irish rebellion, and was the father of several sons, the eldest of whom distinguished themselves in the same service, whilst Robert the youngest, by his philosophical discoveries, added honours surpassing those of rank, to the name of Boyle. The marriage here proposed is not recorded as having taken place.”

Henrietta Maria R.

Right truly and right well-beloved Cousin,

We greet you well. The Lady Stafford being a person, both by her merit and long continuance of her service about us, very particularly in our esteem and consideration, we cannot as a stranger look upon things that do nearly concern her; and therefore having taken knowledge of a treaty which you and she have lately had, concerning a match between your children,—and being desirous, in our care of her and her daughter, that it should receive a conclusion suitable to what she desires; we conceived that the enteressing and intima-

ting unto you of the like desires on our part, would be very much conducing to this end. Wherefore we have thought fit hereby to let you understand, that as you have already, by so far as the matter is advanced, done a thing very acceptable unto us, so in giving it a perfect and final end, we shall have cause of further and greater satisfaction; and we cannot but let you know, that your late readiness and affections expressed towards his majesty's service, (whereof we have taken special notice,) make us the rather believe, that, in contemplation of the contentment which we shall receive thereby, you will not lose an opportunity, in itself being so worthy and which will also be unto us so grateful, whereof you shall receive proofs as the occasions that shall arise for that end may minister. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

From Whitehall, the 28th of Aug., 1639.

To Lord Finch.

[Sloane MS. 4162, fol. 25. English.]

The Lord Finch, keeper of the great seal, was one of the first ministers of Charles I., upon whom the thunders of parliamentary censure descended. Aware of this impending storm, he avoided its violence by taking refuge in Holland, whence he wrote a letter to the queen, which suggested the following reply. A previous letter from him to her, dated Oct. 23, 1640, containing an account of transactions at York, whither he had accompanied the king, is printed in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p., 202.

My Lord Finch,

I have received your letter, and am glad to hear you are arrived in a place where you have received so much honour. I do not doubt but that in any place where you shall go, your merit will make you receive the same, and for my particular, you may be assured to find me ever the same you have left me, that is to oblige you in all occasions. This is the first letter that I have ever written in English, therefore I will not venture to say *ani* more, but that I am,

Your *affectionat frend*,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

For *mi* Lord Finche,

To Charles Prince of Wales.

[Harl. MS. 6988, folio 95. English Holograph.]

About 1641, Prince Charles, who then resided at Richmond, under the guardianship of his governor, the Earl of Newcastle, was indisposed. The tenor of the following note proves that he was not a very docile invalid:—

[1641.]

Charles,

I am sorry that I must begin my first letter with chiding you, because I hear that you will not take physic; I hope it was only for this day, and that tomorrow you will do it; for if you will not, I must come to you and make you take it, for it is for your health. I have given order to my Lord Newcastle, to send me

word to-night, whether you will or not, therefore I hope you will not give me the pains to go, and so I rest

Your affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my dear son, the Prince.

To Monsieur de Chavigny.

[Archives des affaires étrangères, Paris,]

One of the most serious causes of parliamentary jealousy against the queen, was her intercourse with the Papal agent, George Coneo, a Scotchman by birth, who resided at her court and whose influence over her was justly suspected. Much stronger would their feelings of reprobation have been, could they have perused the long despatches written weekly by Coneo and his companion, Gregory Panzani, to Rome, which contain details, full and curious, of the court of Charles I., and of the modes by which the emissaries of Rome endeavoured to create and extend their influence. A few extracts from these despatches, which are unpublished and little known, will afford a general idea of their purport. They occur in the correspondence of the latter end of 1636.

“After my last letter written from Tamworth, the queen removed to Holmby palace, distant four miles from Northampton, and there I found Signor Gregory, in excellent health. We attired some servants, and yesterday morning, being Sunday, we went to court; where, having finished our devotions in her Majesty’s Chapel, we waited on her at table, and were then entertained at dinner by the Lord Abbot of Jasconi, with whom we went down from the queen; and I, at the request of Signor Gregorio, thanked her majesty for all the favours done to him, showing the grateful sense entertained of them by our master and your eminence. The answer was, that all those who belonged

to his holiness or your eminence, would always be most acceptable to her majesty. This compliment ended, I presented the shrine for relics, which was extremely liked, and another which had been sent was at once recalled to mind, and mentioned with terms of the highest esteem and gratitude. I carried with me the Saint Catherine, not intending to leave it at that time, but merely to satisfy the queen's curiosity, saying that I had orders to present it afterwards in a frame, but her majesty would not have patience; declaring that she would take that trouble upon herself, she took away from me the tin case and the packthread with which it was tied, and gave orders that the picture should be fastened to the curtains of her bed. The applause of the assistants could not be greater, but the opinion of one who was not present, is still expected. This business ended, her majesty went down into the chapel to the litanies, which were sung with most beautiful music, and we returned to Northampton, where we shall remain all the time her majesty stays at Holmby, and every two or three days, I shall go to see her."* * * *

"The queen's majesty declares herself extremely obliged by the favours which your eminence shows to Lord Hamilton, and has expressly commanded me to present to your excellence, in her name the warmest tribute of thanks, she being always most ready for anything which can give pleasure to your excellence, in whom she has greater confidence than at any time has been expressed. The other day, I presented to her majesty, your eminence's rosary of aloes wood, with another of agate, and one of buffalo horn, curiously worked with cameo medallions. I also took others to the Catholic ladies and maidens, which were distributed by Father Philip, in her majesty's presence;† and the queen's dwarf, who is less, and better made than that of Criqui, being present, when all was nearly finished, began to call out,

* Vatican papers, vol. xxxix, fol. 173., date 1 Aug. 1631.

† Ibid. fol. 176. Coneo's dispatch, Aug. 8.

"Madam, show the father, that I also am a Catholic," with a manner and gesture, that made all laugh. To the Marchioness of Hamilton, the Countess of Denbigh, her mother, and the Countess of Holland, some trifle was also given. I shall supply the rest when the pictures arrive, which, they write, are already embarked at Leghorn, and so the effects of your eminence's goodness will reach those English persons, who have never had the fortune to see your presence." * * * *

"Truly it would make stones weep to see and hear these poor citizens, when they see the chapel at Holmby; they look at it again and again, and after they have well considered it, one says to another, "What evil thing is done in this chapel? Where are the great scandals that we have heard say are given by the Catholics with their altars?" Others, after heaving a profound sigh, say, "Once we had these beautiful things in our churches." Some stay to hear the mass and the litanies, and I have seen there the minister of the palace himself. Our hostess indeed, though all Northampton is considered most Puritanical, readily allows me to say mass, and willingly gives the lights and wine, and says that we may still perform our devotions, and confesses that we are more assiduous and discreet than the Puritans. And because the minister, in his preaching, exhorts to confession, she asked counsel from Signor Giorgio, who told her that confession is good, but that it must be made to a true priest, and not to an unordained minister: to which words she answered with a sigh. And on this subject, I will not conceal from you, what a servant said one evening to my young men in London. Having seen the cover of the mass book, on which was painted a beautiful crucifix, with other sacred images, she said, "I believe that your religion is also good, and I believe, that it is the best." Indeed, I know that what some one said to me is true, at least as regards the populace,

* Panzani's Dispatch, Aug. 25, 1636, Vatican Papers, vol. 39 fol. 139, Aug. 25, 1636.

that they are not *heretics*, but badly-instructed Christians. May it please God, with vivifying rays, to enlighten the king and his ministers, that these poor souls may come forth out of darkness.”*

* * * *

“The zeal with which your eminence protects the reputation of the Queen of England, corresponds with the great confidence which her majesty has in your eminence. The actions of her majesty are full of incredible innocence, and such that she blushes like a young girl in the presence of strangers.

Father Philip asserts that she has no sin, except those of omission, of which he is a great enemy, and does not spare correction. As to faith, or sin of the flesh, she is never tempted. When she confesses and communicates, she is so earnest, that she surprises her confessor and all. No one is admitted in her bedrooms except ladies, with whom she sometimes retires, and employs herself on light, but innocent matters. She suffers sometimes from melancholy, and then she likes silence; when she is afflicted, she has recourse earnestly to God. She thinks little of the future, trusting entirely in the king. She must endeavour more to gain the ministers of state, of whom, if she wishes, she may be the mistress. For this and other things, the presence of Montague, which I have earnestly desired, will be serviceable, and I hope much from it.”†

“The Sunday after the council, I spoke to the king in the queen’s cabinet. After I had represented at length the unchangeable attachment of our master towards his majesty’s royal house, and the good of his kingdoms, I assured him that his holiness’s intention was, that his Catholic subjects should be most faithful to his majesty, without any other dependance, except that which they owed his holiness, as their father and spiritual pastor. The

* Panzani’s Despatch, Aug. 25, 1636, Vatican Papers, vol. xxxix. fol. 193, Aug. 25, 1636.

† Ibid. p. 96, date Aug. 25, 1636.

king answered, that he had never denied this, but that he was grieved to see certain Frenchmen and Spaniards, who did nothing but sow dissensions among them, and obliged him better to assure himself of their fidelity. I said that this also displeased his holiness and your eminence, and that you did not cease to try every possible remedy, and for this reason, perhaps, the correspondence was commenced through the queen;—that it greatly displeased the other potentates or states of Christendom, who knew how great a restraint a perfect union of Great Britain with the Apostolic See would be to the extravagances of those who, by their caprices, unnerved those forces of Christendom which were sufficient to bring back to Christ his lost patrimony of the east. The king feelingly assented to these words, saying, “God forgive the first authors of the disunion.” I replied, “Sire, so much greater will be the glory of your majesty, if, by your means, so great an evil is remedied.” To this the king made no reply, but passed on to speak to me of the feeling he had shown against the Polish ambassador, as if to justify himself. I then mentioned your eminence’s solicitation, made through the Polish secretary in reference to the same embassy, saying that your eminence did not think such an office suitable, although you earnestly desired the conversion of the princess;* but that if, by any other means, the princess should be brought to hold companionship with the queen, as her brothers did, then her highness would be surrounded by the Catholic faith, and the event left with God, without whose aid no one could be a Catholic. The king, in that, much praised your eminence’s prudence and goodness, and I said, “Sire, your majesty may judge, by their actions, what is the integrity of his holiness and Cardinal Barberini, since neither advantages nor threatenings and continued vexations have sufficed to remove them from the common service of Christianity. But of their

* The Princess Palatine, niece of Charles I., who was wooed by the Catholic King of Poland.

affection towards your majesty, no one is better informed than I am, who have been more profited by being a good subject of your majesty, than by any other consideration. So, on the contrary, I hope that my being a good servant to them will not prejudice me with your majesty." The king quickly gave me his hand, saying, "No, Georgio, no, always be assured of this."

Lady Savage, the mother of two sons, and a matron both in appearance and other qualities most worthy of notice, has, by her return to court, afforded singular consolation to the queen's majesty, whom she served and accompanied, as well in the chapel as in the room. On her arrival, the queen, almost before she had saluted her, showed her the cross sent by our master, which she always wears upon her person, saying, "See there, madam, the treasure that his holiness has sent me: this is a favour all the more esteemed by me, because his holiness is not much accustomed to grant it to others, and I consider this cross the most precious thing that I have." This was repeated to me, not only by the Lady Savage herself, but by different other ladies who were present. Her majesty was a little indisposed the other day, but now, thanks to God, she is very well, in company with the king, who does not fail to procure for her all suitable comforts. My Lord Gregory would be now embarked, if Sir Vandyke had sent him the picture of her majesty, for which my Lord Gregory has entreated him: but he will leave within three or four days."* * * *

"The conversations with the king were quite general, being always in presence of the queen, who discoursed with his majesty to obtain leave that within five days of the present anniversary of the gunpowder-plot, a sermon might be preached in the English tongue, to exculpate the Catholics from treason against princes. The king at first showed himself much opposed to it, saying, that such an undertaking might cause some disturbance to the Protestants; then he told the queen, that she must beware of letting

* Ibid. fol. 343, Nov. 17, 1636.

the English come into her chapel, because they were factious and unquiet: afterwards he consented that the sermon should be made, on condition of its being revised, that it might not accuse the Protestants of the very opinions from which it exculpated the Catholics. The sermon did not take place, however, because the queen had arranged to go that day to London, although she did not go after all. The preacher was to have been Father Francisco, of St. Chiara; he is favoured more than ever by Windebank, who was the person that advised the queen to speak to the king, promising to second the business. It was resolved that I should propose the business to the queen, but I excused myself, saying I did not wish to take upon myself anything relating to her majesty's chapel, the entire care of which rests with the grand almoner."* * * *

"Last Sunday, the queen's majesty communicated for the first time in Lent, and after dinner there was a sermon in Somerset Chapel, as well as that in St. James's, which there has been before Her Majesty three times during the week. The preacher employed himself entirely on Sunday in persuading to fasting, only exempting the sick and the queen's majesty. I then gave the second part, according to your eminence's order, in the name of our master, beseeching her Majesty to take good care of herself, and to submit entirely to her confessor, and her doctor. The office was very well received, and her majesty earnestly commended me to give most humble thanks to his holiness for his paternal care of her, and at the same time to recommend herself to the prayers of your eminence, to whom she sends, by the next courier, the measure of a picture, which her majesty wishes to have executed by Guido, for her chapel at Greenwich."† * * *

These extracts sufficiently shew the nature of the influence which was ever around the queen. On the other hand, Archbishop Laud incurred her high displeasure for the freedom of his remonstrances with the king against the increase of the Romish party.

* Ibid. fol. 347.

† Ibid. vol. 40, f. 136, date March 2, 1637.

Charles I. remained true to his protestantism. A contemporaneous diarist writes.

“Mr. Pratt told me, that of late, many Englishmen went to mass at the queen’s house, and the ambassador’s lodgings, which caused a proclamation of restraint, upon pain of the execution of penal statutes; but when this was not sufficient, poursuivants were sent who imprisoned many. The queen made suit for their release, and had this answer from the king; “I permit you your religion, with your capuchins and others; I permit ambassadors and their retinue; but the rest of my subjects, I will have them live in the religion I profess, and my father before me, &c.”*

The queen’s conduct having drawn upon her the censures of parliament, she condescended to an explanation and apology for the points in her conduct which were deemed objectionable—the only concession which, amidst the difficulties and dangers that beset her path, was ever extorted from the high-spirited daughter of Henry IV. It was to the following effect :—

“That at the request of the lords, who petitioned the king for a parliament, her majesty at that time writ effectually to the king, and sent a gentleman expressly to persuade the king to the holding of a parliament.

That she hath since been most willing to do all good offices between the king and his people, which is not unknown to divers of the lords, and so shall ever continue to do, as judging it the only way of happiness to the king, herself, and the kingdom, that all things be justly settled between the king and his people, and all causes of misunderstanding taken away and removed.

That her majesty hath been ready to use her best endeavours for the removing of all mis-understanding between the king and kingdom.

* Diary of John Rous, from the private library of Dawson Turner, Esq.

That her majesty having taken a knowledge that having one sent from the pope, is distasteful to the kingdom, she is desirous to give satisfaction to the parliament; within convenient time she will remove him out of the kingdom.

That understanding likewise that exception hath been taken at the great resort to her chapel at Denmark House, she will be careful not to exceed that which is convenient and necessary for the exercise of her religion.

She further taketh notice, that the parliament is not satisfied with the manner of raising money for the assistance of the king in his journey to the north, in the year 1639, at her entreaty, from the Catholics; she was moved thereunto merely out of her dear and tender affection to the king, and the example of others his majesty's subjects; she seeing the like forwardness, would not but express her forwardness to the assistance of the king.

If any thing be illegal, she was ignorant of the law, and was carried therein only out of great desire to be assisting to the king in so pressing an occasion; but promises to be more cautious hereafter, not to do any thing but what may stand with the established laws of the kingdom; her majesty being desirous to employ her own power to unite the king and people, and desireth the parliament to look forwards and pass by such mistakes and errors of her servants as may be formerly; and this your respect she promiseth shall be repaid with all the good offices she can do to the house, which you shall find with real effects, as often as there shall be occasion." *

The queen so far fulfilled her promise as to dismiss her chaplain, Walter Montague, the same whose presence was recommended by Coneo. He was once a Protestant, brother of the Earl of Manchester, and his perversion rendering him peculiarly obnoxious to parliament, the queen was compelled to consent to his

* Diurnal occurrences in parliament, 4to. Lond. 1641, p. 31.

banishment. The queen wrote the following note on behalf of her dismissed servant:—

[April, 1641.]

Monsieur de Chavigny,

The professions I have received from you of your desire to oblige me, make me entreat you to be so good as to show the fruits of it towards M. de Montague, who, being forced to retire into France for some time, will have need of your favour, which I hope you will not withhold from him, since he suffers for as good a cause as that of his religion, and also for being too affectionate to me, of which I am so sensible, that I cannot do otherwise than recommend him to you most earnestly. I have commanded him to give you to understand many things on my behalf, wherefore referring you to him, I will only assure you that, if there were anything in my power by which you might see the desire that I have to oblige you, I doubt not that you would see that I am,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To M. de Chavigny.

To Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange.

[From the French Holograph, in the private collection of Miss Richardson Currer.]

The princess royal of England, Mary, was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange; and one of the secret conditions of the match was that the prince should assist Charles I. in the collision with his subjects which seemed inevitable. In the summer of 1641, it was proposed that, in compliance with the request of the prince of Orange, the queen should attend her

daughter into Holland, and also use the Spa waters, which were strongly recommended for her own health.*

The parliament, correctly surmising that there was some secondary motive in the queen's proposed visit, raised objections to her departure. Many points in her conduct had roused their animadversion. In his withdrawing-room, and under an oath of secrecy, Col. Goring, with Jermyn and twelve others, had plotted a scheme for remodelling the army, so as to throw it into the hands of the king. The confessor, Father Philip, was sent to the tower by parliament, for placing improper persons about her, such as her secretary, Sir John Winter; a letter from him to Montague having been intercepted, in which he said "The Puritans, if they dared, would pull the good queen to pieces; and can the good king of France suffer a daughter of France, his sister, and her children, to be thus affronted?"

The objections of the parliament were grounded upon the danger of the queen's communicating with parties abroad, and their fears that she would raise money by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland. Dr. Mayerne was therefore summoned to be examined on the professed necessity of the journey, for the sake of health.† His report was—

"The queen is sick in body and in mind, and she thinks she cannot recover. She hath great opinion of the Spa water. To cure her body, she must have her mind quieted, and out of reach of employments that may disturb her. Her faith hath a great power over her.

Concerning Spa Water.

For the present it is not good, yet they may be preferred, so as she may take them, either upon the place or near. The

* Verney papers, p. 106.

† The doctor had previously written out for her use a long list of diet prescriptions, &c., in preparation for her voyage. They are in his receipt-book, (Addit. MS. 1679, f. 67) with other prescriptions for her in 1640, and in February, 1641.

queen need not use the water now ; her body must be first prepared, but satisfy her mind, and it will help the cure very much.

She believes she is very ill, and Spa waters would do her good, and any change of air would do her good, be it what it will.

She says she is dangerously ill, both in mind and body, and if you cure her mind, it would help much to the cure of her body. Spa water is not fit for her for the present, her body not being prepared. His opinion is, her mind being quieted, it would be much help to medicine in the cure. Unless remedies be used, she cannot live. The waters must be taken between this and the middle of August. Waters have twice done her good, and Spa water is better than the best waters in England. She is to go to Utrecht or Arnheim if she will go into Holland." On this the Commons were lavish in their assurances that every effort should be made to promote the queen's peace of mind, if she would only consent to relinquish her idea of leaving England. The queen replied to their address as follows :—

"I give many thanks to both houses of Parliament for their care of my health and their affection to my happiness. I hope I shall see the effect of it. Truly nothing but my health could have made me resolve on this journey, and if I thought I could serve the king and his kingdom with the hazard of my life, I would do it, and I hope you believe that I have so much interest in the good of this kingdom that I shall never wish anything to the prejudice of it."*

She was thus persuaded to a temporary abandonment of her project, and wrote the following note of excuse to the Prince of Orange.

[July 31.]

Cousin,

I can assure you it causes me no small grief that I cannot at present give you the satisfaction concerning my daughter which I had purposed when Will. Murray

* Rushworth, pt. 3, vol. i., p. 350.

was with you.* The Baron Dona will give you the particulars, as well as Murray, whom I have commissioned to tell them to you more in detail, and he will assure you that I shall do all in my power to let you see by the results what were my intentions on this subject; wherefore, referring myself to Will. Murray, I will say no more, except that I am and always shall be, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

Charles I. writes at the same time to the Prince of Orange, regretting not to send better news by Baron Dona, but adding, "as soon as possible, you shall receive the satisfaction you desire touching my daughter."

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Addit. MS. 18,738, f. 71, English Holograph. From the Donnadieu collection.]

The following series of short notes has for the most part appeared in print before, but being short, they are placed here in consecutive order, as affording clear proof of the important part

* The Queen of Bohemia, writing to a friend from the Hague, (sister to Charles I.,) says:—

I believe you will not a little wonder that my sister the queen is to come over very speedily hither, to drink the Spa waters for her health; her mother and she come over together, none with her but the Duchess of Lennox, Lady Denbigh and Lady Savage, no maid of honour, no lord but Dorset; she goeth not to Spa, but stayeth at Utrecht or Arnheim, to have the waters brought to her; if this be told, she will be here next week."

A few days after she adds, that the queen had not intended to bring her daughter with her, and that those in Holland who expected the princess would be deceived. *Germ. Corresp. State Paper Office, July 19 and Aug. 2, 1641.*

taken by the queen in public affairs. They were written during the king's absence in Scotland, when the regency was carried on by commissioners, of whom the queen was the real, though not the nominal head.

Master Nicholas,

If you have received a letter from the king, or Sir Henry Vane, directed to the commissioners here, pray do not deliver it till I have spoken with you, for it was I that did desire the king to write it, and now I believe it is not fit to be delivered ; therefore, keep it till I have seen you, if you should (have) received one, and so I rest

Your Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oatlands, this 18th August, 1641.

For Master Nicholas.

To Secretary Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 2. English.]

Master Nicholas,

I have received your letter, and that you sent me from the king, which writes me word, he has been very well received in Scotland, and that both the army and the people have showed a great joy to see the king, and such that they say was never seen before : pray God it may continue. For the letter that I wrote to you concerning the commissioners, it is that they are to dispatch business in the king's absence. I thank you for your giving me advices of what passes in London, and so I rest

Your Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oatlands, the 19th August.

For Master Nicholas.

Endorsed 19th August, 1641.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 33. English.]

Master Nicholas,

I send you the names of the lords that I think fit to be sent for. You must to advertise the bishop to be here, so having no more to say, I rest

Your assured Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Cumberland, Huntingdon, Bath, Northampton, Devonshire, Bristol, Newcastle, Paulet, Coventry, Seymour, Cottington. If you would write to Bridgeman to come and to speak to all his friends in that country, his in Lancashire, and so to as many as are your friends; for many others, I have spoken myself to them already.

For Master Nicholas.

Endorsed 5th October, 1641.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 63. English.]

It need scarcely be said, that the following letter was written at the important crisis, when the decision as to the bishops retaining their votes in the House of Lords was pending.

Master Nicholas,

Having received a letter from London to-night, that there is many of the lords that are gone off in the country, and that they are afraid they shall want some for the business of the bishops: having heard that

Carnarvon is in his own house, some twenty miles off, I believe very fit you should write to him from the king, to have him come to London for that time. This bearer will carry your letter to him, and having nothing to say more, I rest

Your assured Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

For Master Nicholas.

Endorsed 8th November, 1641.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 66. English.]

Master Nicholas,

I am very sorry that my letter did not come time enough to go. I have received yours, and I have written to the king to hasten his coming. I send you the letter; and if little Will Murray is well enough, I would have him go back again to Scotland, without coming here, for I would have him go to-morrow morning. Tell him from me—but if he were not well, then you must provide somebody that will be sure, for my letter must not be lost, and I would not trust it to an ordinary post. I am so ill provided with persons that I dare trust, that at this instant I have no living creature that I dare send. Pray do what you can to help me, if little Will Murray cannot go, to send this letter, and so I rest

Your assured Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

For yourself.

Endorsed 10th Nov., 1641.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 72. English.]

Master Nicholas,

I have received your letter. I am sorry you are not well, for I would have been glad to speak to you, but it is of no haste, therefore don't hasten yourself, for fear of being sick.

I send you a letter for my lord keeper, that the king did send to me, to deliver it if I thought it fit: the subject of it, is to make a declaration against the orders of Parliament which are made without the king. If you believe a fit time, give it him: if not, you may keep it till I see you.

The king will be here certainly the 20th of this month, therefore you may advertise the mayor of London. Your letter that you did write to Carnarvon, is come back to me, and I burnt it. He was not at his house: it should be very necessary that you should enquire where he is, and write to him, and send to my Lord Cottington for his proxies, for I hear he has two, and his own; and send to my Lord Southampton and Dunsmore to send their proxies, till they come themselves: they are in Warwickshire. Having no more to say, I rest this 12th November,

Your assured Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Endorsed 1641.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

[Evelyn's Works, vol. iv. p. 78. English.]

Master Nicholas,

I did desire you not to acquaint my Lord of Essex, of what the king commanded you, touching his coming: now you may do it, and tell him that the king will be at Theobald's, Wednesday, and shall lie there; and upon Thursday, he shall dine at my Lord Mayor's, and lie at Whitehall only for one night; and upon Friday, will go to Hampton Court, where he means to stay the winter: the king commanded me to tell this to my Lord of Essex, but you may do it, for these lordships are too great princes now to receive any direction from me. Being all that I have to say, I shall rest

Your assured Friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

For Master Nicholas.

Endorsed 20th Nov., 1641.

To Lord Digby.

[King's Pamphlets, small 4to. vol. 45. art. 8.]

Early in February, 1642, a packet of letters was intercepted from Lord Digby, another banished adherent of Charles I, containing, amongst others, one to the queen. After some hesitation, the Parliament opened it, and found its contents to be as follows:—

“Madam,

“I shall not adventure to write unto your majesty with freedom, but by expresses, or till such time as I have a cipher;

which I beseech your majesty to vouchsafe me. At this time, therefore, I shall only let your majesty know where the humblest and most faithful servant you have in the world is, here at Middleburgh, where I shall remain in the privatest way I can, till I receive instructions how I shall serve the king and your majesty in these parts. If the king betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants from rage and violence—for from justice I will never implore it—I shall then live in impatience and in misery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence, than by all my industry; and it will be a comfort to me in all my calamities, if I cannot serve you by my actions, that I may do it in some kind by my sufferings for your sake, having (I protest to God) no measure of happiness or misfortune in this world, but what I derive from your majesty's value of my affection and fidelity.”*

Middleburgh, the 21st January, 1641.

The king, hearing what had transpired, sent to the Parliament to know the cause of their presuming to open the queen's letter. In reply it was said that they opened it under certainty that it would contain “expressions full of asperity and malignity to the Parliament,” which they found to be the case. “Yet,” they add, “we are far from reflecting upon the queen, or expecting any satisfaction from her majesty, but impute all to the bold and envenomed spirit of the man; only we most earnestly beseech your majesty to persuade the queen that she will not vouchsafe any countenance to or correspondence with the Lord Digby, or any other of the fugitives or traitors whose offences now depend under the examination and judgment of parliament; which we assure ourselves will be very effectual to further the removal of

* Ludlow's Memoirs, Appendix. No. 330.

all jealousies and discontents between your majesty and your people."*

The ingenuity of parliamentary wit cannot have been very severely taxed in the concoction of the following letter, evidently forged, and professing to be a reply to the above. Henrietta Maria was not thus in the habit of echoing, parrot-like, the very words of her correspondents:—

My lord,

We respectively entertain great alacrity in our joyful mind to receive the undoubted fidelity, which you expressed to us, in your last epistle. You may boldly adventure to write unto us with freedom, as well as by expresses, the time being come that you have a cipher, which I vouchsafe to confer upon you; I am exceeding joyful to know that the humblest, and most faithful servant I have in the world is now at Middleburgh; where (we desire) you may remain in the privatest way you can, till you receive further instructions how you may more faithfully serve the king and us in those parts. The king having betaken himself to a safe place, where he doth, and will avow, and protect his servants from rage and violence (for from justice you cannot implore it) you may then live in patience and joy, having the freedom to wait upon us. But he having betaken himself to the easiest and compliantest way of accommodation, confirm your confidence, that then you may serve him more by your absence than by your industry: and let

* Parliamentary remonstrances 1642, p. 82.

it be a comfort to you in all calamities, that you may serve us by your actions only, and in no kind by your sufferings for our sake; that you may have no measure of misfortune, but happiness in this world, which you may derive from our gracious value of your affection and fidelity.

Canterbury, Feb. 3rd, 1641.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 16.]

The following letters from Henrietta Maria to her husband, during a stirring period of the civil wars, are an important addition to the documentary history of the times. In strength and firmness of mind, the daughter of Henri Quatre far surpassed her husband, and these letters clearly shew how earnestly she endeavoured to support the vacillating mind of the king, and to lead him to adopt vigorous and decisive measures. What would have been the issue had her advice been steadily followed, it is impossible to say, but the half measures of the king undoubtedly hastened his downfall. A small portion of the correspondence between the royal pair was found in the cabinet of Charles I., taken at the battle of Naseby, and was published at the time. The letters now published for the first time belong to the same series.

The commencement of this correspondence was in the spring of 1642, when Henrietta Maria went over into Holland, nominally for the purpose of escorting thither her daughter Mary, the bride of the young prince of Orange, and also to pay the long-talked of visit to the Spa waters;—really to gain the opportunity of urging solid assistance from the Prince of Orange, and of raising money by pawning her own jewels and those of the

crown, amongst the rich merchants of Holland. Her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, then resident at the Hague, writing about this time to Sir Thomas Roe, thus hints her opinion of the influence exercised by Henrietta. "The queen," she says, "doth all: my son advised him (the king) to a reconcilment with the Parliament, but the queen would not hear of it, under pretence that the Parliament would ask dishonourable conditions,"* Announcing the arrival of Henrietta, she says, "My Lord of Arundel, and my Lord Goring are come over; Dorset, they say, will follow. There are not many with the queen; of ladies none, but the Duchess of Richmond, my Lady Denbigh, Roxburgh, and the maids. The last-named have lost all their clothes—their baggage-ship sprang a leak, and sank. Goring and Sir Thomas Stafford have lost both money and clothes. The queen has brought but two priests with her, Father Philip being one; all the rest are commanded to be gone out of England. She has lost in the vessel that sank, all her vessels for her chapel."†

Henrietta Maria, with her young daughter, arrived at the Hague on the 25th of February. The particulars of their reception need not here be given.‡ The queen wasted no time in empty ceremonial, and it is curious to find in her correspondence how her energies were concentrated upon the one grand object of her journey, that of procuring assistance for her husband. In Holland, as in England, a struggle was going on between the aristocratic and democratic factions. The former, headed by the Prince of Orange, was eager to succour distressed royalty, the

* German Correspondence, 7th (17th) Feb., 1642.

† Ibid. March 7th (17th.)

‡ They are detailed in the life of her daughter Mary, Princess of Orange. *Princesses of England*, vol. vi., p. 127—133.

latter equally anxious to keep on good terms with the parliament of England. A resident at the Hague, a gentleman in the service of the Queen of Bohemia, writes—

“The queen’s entertainment at the Hague is, in my very soul, more royal than hearty : the Dutch liberality is almost at an end, and the queen’s entertainment begins to slacken with them ; only his highness holds on his wonted nobleness in cheering her. They set her majesty a day that they would be rid of her, if so it please or stand with her occasions. Proclamation against your parliament-delinquents, forbidding them strictly to repair hither during her majesty’s abode here, upon pain of imprisonment, and sending back into England with strict guard, hath been here published in all towns and dominions of the States ; yet two have bravely adventured to kiss her hand, who came hither wonderfully well disguised, and walked not openly in court, lay in the Prince of Orange’s own lodging, and after two days, took their leave, either for France or Brussels. God knows the queen is very narrowly watched here, as a personage of her quality may be, and I durst pawn my life, the parliament hath some agents here merely to attend that business ; and three of them are, in my conscience, L. O. S. T. I. H. Her majesty would have gone first to Cologne, to have attended upon her mother, then to Brussels, but was denied. The Prince of Orange seemed very forward to accomplish her desire in both, as far as lay in his power ; but he was not so forward, but she found the Dutch as froward, who absolutely denied in plain terms, studying all the ways they can to gratify and comply with your parliament ; not caring who they displease, so they satisfy them. I verily think the queen, as the matter stands, will not trouble them long here, and that you shall have her in England yet, a good while before Easter.”*

The queen however was too intent upon her affairs to take the

* Ellis’s Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 293.

hints given her by Dutch forwardness to retire. The following letters will prove how diligently and earnestly she laboured.

The passages which are in italics are written in cipher in the original, with the deciphering generally interlined, except in the case of the proper names. These are supplied, sometimes with certainty, at other times conjecturally from a general acquaintance with the acting personages of the times. The originals are almost entirely in French.

My dear heart,

It was with no small joy that I received your letter by Ringfield, for I was in the greatest anxiety. I thank God that Charles is with you, and that I perceive your resolution and constancy to continue. Assuredly, God will assist us, and whatever may be said to you, do not break your resolution, but follow it constantly and do not lose time. As to what you write me, about making *Salisbury treasurer*, I would do nothing in it yet, but wait awhile longer; for, as to the *sum of money*, it is too small to be considerable, and you know that it is *a bone* that will make *the dogs fight*, and you may gain more by the *dissension* that *there will be amongst them* than by the *profit of the money*: for this reason, do not dispose of it. As to sending you *that money*, I will make all possible diligence, but I do not know *where to send it to you*. Therefore when you come to York, if you find *the country well* affected, *Hull* must absolutely be *had*; if you *cannot*, you must *go to Newcastle*, and if you find that that is not *safe*, go to *Berwick*, for it is necessary to have a *sea-port*, for reasons that I will send to inform

you of, by *an express person*, as soon as I shall know that you are at *a sea-port*, and that *Charles (?)* is there too, for it is necessary that this person should speak to you, before *you* go into *Scotland*. I will send him in your own ships, which I still keep, expecting news from *you*, and by that same way, I will send you *some money*; only send me a warrant, under your hand, *to give to Pennington*, to *transport* any person whom I shall appoint. You must leave the name of the person blank, and let me have it. Send to fetch James as soon as ever you can; I should also wish you to send for *Essex* and *Holland* to come and serve you; *if they refuse, take away their places* and keep them *vacant*,* unless you came to some contest; else restore them as they were, provided that they serve you. Do not pass tonnage and poundage any more, for it is against yourself.

I am labouring with confidence, and hope to obtain satisfaction, although it be from a *person not easy to bind down*, but interests have great power. I had sent Clarke to you, but the wind has been so contrary that I do not think he has passed: which is the reason that by this way, I send you copies of what I sent by him, which is about what must be done to *pawn* our *great collar*, and touching my daughter; I think the way that must be taken is for you to send a command to Wharton, to get him to have a blank warrant drawn up very

* Their posts were chamberlain and groom of the stole. The king promised the queen before her departure to call them to account for their vacillating and dubious policy.

secretly by *Bridgeman*, and that Wharton himself should carry it to the keeper, with a letter from you, and have it sealed before him, and as such you will send it me with diligence; for otherwise we could do nothing, as you will see by the letters of Boswell. Also send me a letter of warrant for Boswell, by which you command him to give up the collar to me, that if I see we can get nothing for it here, I may send it to your uncle. Send the letter to me, to make use of as I shall see fitting.

Be careful how you write in cipher, for I have been driven well nigh mad in deciphering your letter. You have added some blanks which I had not; and you have not written it truly. Take good care I beg you, and put in nothing which is not in my cipher. Once again I remind you to take care of your pocket, and not let our cipher be stolen;* I am so weary with writing that I will say nothing other than kind, for I am more so than I could write, and I hope that my actions will show you it. If Pennington has not a warrant under your hand to stay with me till I inform him of your pleasure to the contrary, send me one, for I understand they want to play him an ill trick about it. He is too simple a man. It is his fault.

Hague, 17th March.

* The key to the cipher between the king and queen, was always kept by the king in his pocket.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 2.]

March, 1643.

My dear heart,

I was still expecting tidings from you before I sent any one, that I might know assuredly where you were. I hope this bearer will find you at York, although they say the contrary here; and that if *you find York well affected, you will go to Hull*, for we must have *Hull*. *I* am busy about sending *you money*, and *I* hope that soon *it will be ready*, but I would rather *you* had a place in *England* where I could *send* it to you. For this reason, I shall wait tidings from *you*, or *Lord Newcastle*, (?) before *I* do it. I had written to you by my last letter, that it was necessary for you to have a *sea-port*, in case I wished to *send a person to you*, to *speak* with you,—but that is in case you can do it without retarding your affairs, *for if you find the country* where you are *well affected, you* will for the present remain in *England*, &c., that will be enough; it is not for fear, that you will be *constrained to go away*, [but] that it will not be in your *power* to stay at *Newcastle*. Wherefore, do not let that change your resolutions.

A report is current here, that *you are returning to London*, or near it. *I* believe nothing of it, and hope that *you* are more constant in *your resolutions*; you have already learned *to your cost*, that want of *perseverance* in your *designs* has *ruined* you. [But] if it be so, adieu; I

must pray to God, for assuredly *you* will never change *my* resolution to *retire* into a *convent*,* for I can never *trust myself* to those *persons* who would be *your directors*, nor to *you*, since you would have *broken* your promise to *me*. If you had wished to make *an accommodation*, you could have *done* it as *well* at *York*, and more to your *advantage* than near *London*. As you had decided on this *at my starting*, I cannot believe any other, although I confess I am *troubled* almost to *death* for fear of the *contrary*; and I have cause, for if you have *broken your resolutions*, there is nothing but *death* for *me*. I am afraid that it is a trick of *Hamilton* (?) and *Lanark* (?) together, for it is very public here that *Lanark* (?) is *betraying you*. I pray God it be not so. If all that is said be true, *you* are lost, and *I* too; but if it be not, God be thanked; I have very great reason to fear *Lanark* (?). In God's name, *beware* of him, and trust yourself only to *Culpepper* (?), and to *Ashburnham* (?), for assuredly, they will not deceive you.

As to what concerns the affairs of *Scotland*, consult *Lanark* (?) a little, in order *not* to excite *his jealousy*, and be constant in your resolutions, and *I* am assured that *your affairs will go well*, for I find the *Prince of Orange* here *very affectionate* towards *you*, only they have a little suspicion about *your resolutions*, and that *you are not firm* in your designs.

* In the MS., the copyist has evidently transposed some words which were interlined; they are restored to their places in the translation.

As I was writing this letter, I have just received one of yours, dated from Newma[rket], which has brought me as much joy as the former news had caused me sadness, although I had assurance that you *were* in *York*, for I have remarked that delays have never been to your advantage, although by the letter that I have received from *Ashburnham* (?), I have received the reasons, which have partially satisfied me, but more when he told me, that on Friday, *you will be at York*. Continue your resolution, and do not *change*, for *therein is involved a blow* for the *party*; and reflect, that it involves also whether *you* should go or *not* to *Hull*, and from thence to *York*: but to do that, you must be *assured* of *Hull* beforehand. This is why I shall wait for news from *you* with much impatience.

The money is not ready, for on *your jewels*, they will lend nothing. I am forced to *pledge* all my little ones, for the *great ones*, nothing can be had here, but I assure you I am losing no time. For the East Indian affairs, I refer you to Boswell to give you an account of them. You have been lately deceived in this: consult with the chancellor of the exchequer, about the requests with which he has to do,—and send us your directions. You can also speak to Will Murray, for he knows something about it. I will say no more on this subject.

If I could *send* some one to you, *he would tell* you many things that I cannot send you word of. If *you had Hull*, I should be *very glad*, provided that did *you no harm*. Send me word, whether you will try it. I have

written you three letters, one by Carnarvon, the others by Progers and Clarke, and have received four from you by Ringfield, two by the post, and one by a gentleman. I shall always conclude with,—lose no time, it is too dear ; and you may listen far off, with more surety than near at hand.

Above all, do not leave Charles, and have him near you. Do not let him go out of your sight, for he is not so well attended that he has nothing to fear ; for assuredly at this time everything is to be feared, I must tell you. Let your resolution secure you always, and above all, seek to continue the servants. [I hope] soon to see you again, which I assure you I desire no little. If my love were as sick as my body, I could not write, being extremely lame, but I hope that it will be only a cold. As to what you write me about Carnarvon, you may say, that at my return, if I find that her father and friends have served you, she shall see that on that account I shall be very glad to oblige her ; but do not engage me quite, though she is a person of whom I have a very good opinion. I ever recommend to you, your care of your pockets. As to what I send you word about the journey of Digby, if you find it suitable, it must be kept very secret. I have sent away Pennington, and have kept a ship which that Scotchman commands le Cach, for it was necessary for Pennington to return, to command the fleet which is to go out, or they would have made it return by force. If an accommodation is pro-

posed to you, I hope you will do nothing without ,
[telling] me it.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. p. 73.]

The following, more strongly than any of its predecessors, proves how strongly rooted was the antipathy of Henrietta Maria to any termination of the struggle, short of the absolute re-establishment of her husband's influence. The Queen of Bohemia, with whom she was much associated, says "the queen is against any agreement with parliament but by war, and the king doth nothing but by her approbation;" and again "I find by all the queen's and her people's discourse that they do not desire an agreement betwixt his majesty and the parliament, but that all be done by force, and rail abominably at the parliament. I hear all and say nothing."*

My dear heart,

It was with no small joy that I received your letters, for you were arrived at York a fortnight before I received tidings from you, but all at once I have had two newspapers. Sir William Baladin having been driven back by the tempest three times, the other at last overtook him, and they came together. I am extremely glad to hear that you have been so well received at York, and that you find the country so well affected. Take advantage of it, and lose no time; you know that the affection of the people changes like the wind, therefore you should make good use of it whilst it lasts; you have

* Letters to Sir T. Roe, April and May 1642, State Paper Office.

a precedent before you, for the parliament will make use of it.

As to what you write me, that everybody dissuades you concerning Hull from *taking it by force*, unless *the parliament* begins,—is it not beginning to *put persons into* it against your orders? If you wait for it to be done publicly otherwise than that, you will be ruined altogether, and as for the assurance that you have of *Scotland*, I have many doubts about it, for I hear that *Argyle* and *the others*, who I believe are rather for the Parliament, have *regiments on foot* to go to *Ireland*. Believing that *you* are going to *Scotland*, they design to have their *people on foot*, in order to make them now do what they wish. *Take good care about it*, and try to *dispatch them to Ireland* before going, if it be possible. If you have *the people* of *Yorkshire*, as *assured to you* as you found, take advantage of it, whilst they are in good temper: *at the beginning*, people can do things, about which, in the end, they *grow cool*, and then they *can no longer be done*. There is no more room for repentance. For my part, I think that *the Parliament* believes that you *are constantly expecting an accommodation*, in fact, that they *draw back themselves* perhaps to what *they would desire*, if they saw you in *action*, and that else, perhaps *they would speak* after another *fashion*. For you *having* Hull is not beginning any thing violent, for it is only *against the rascal who refuses it to you*.

As to *money*, *I am at work*: *I must send into Denmark*, for in the mean time, they will *lend nothing upon your rubies*. Nevertheless, *I will put all my jewels in pledge*; but

as to you, when that is done, and you have expended that money, still waiting till *the Parliament declares war against you*, there will be no further means of getting other monies, and thus you will be reduced to do *what the Parliament shall please*, and I shall be constrained to retire into a convent, or to beg alms. Also it is to be feared that *the Parliament will take a path more moderate in appearance, but in effect, worse for you*; wherefore, that ought to be well considered. A report is current here, that you will grant the militia for one year, but your letter relieves me from that fear, for you assure me of the contrary. Continue in your resolutions; and pardon me if I have written a little too much on this subject by Ringfield. My whole hope lies only in your firmness and constancy, and when I hear anything to the contrary, I am mad. Pardon once again my folly and weakness: I confess it. That letter of which you speak to me, and which you sent me concerning an accommodation, is so insupportable, that I have burnt it with joy. Such a thing is not to be thought of; it is only trifling and losing time. Think that if you had not stopped so prematurely, our affairs would perhaps be in a better state than they are, and you would at this moment have Hull. This is only as an example of what I say, and not to reproach you, for that is over. As to your having passed tonnage and poundage, I confess that it is against my opinion, for it is only for them and not for you—but I submit.

As to what has been told you that Cognet has sent

word to *her husband* concerning *Digby*, it is a very great lie, for I can assure you that she only wrote about her private affairs, and about *her mother*, *all* whose goods the *Parliament* has arrested, their only ground being that she carried away all my jewels. As to *Digby*, I assure you that he has no intention of returning to *England*; he finds himself very comfortable where he is. It is true I have heard him say that if the *Parliament* wished to accuse him, and that he could defend himself without being sent to prison, he was so innocent that he would venture to go to defend himself; but it was with the intention that in case he went to see you, and were taken at sea, he might say that he was going to justify himself to the *Parliament*; but now, since you do not think it proper, he will not venture it. As to the ambassador who is to go from this country, I had a long conversation with him yesterday. I think he is a very honest man: you have seen him before; he is a tall man, who kissed the hands of Jeffry, taking him for my son. As to Isabelle* she cannot go with him; for she is too much suspected to be of your party.

I hear no news of the *commission* which I wrote to you to send, concerning my daughter and the rest. Please not to forget. I have received the addition of the cipher. I have nothing more to say except ever to urge

* This is a pseudonyme, possibly meant for Lady Denbigh, or Lady Roxburgh, both of whom were in attendance upon the queen: possibly for some Hollander; the name is not necessarily that of a woman.

upon you constancy and resolution : for it must be by these that we emerge from our miseries. I expect many lords have come to you. Beware of the persecutions of some : I name no one, but assuredly you will well understand me. It is not only for *Hamilton* (?) that I speak, but for others yet, who you know are addicted to the commission, and who are come to join you. Since you are there, you must above all try to have a safe *sea-port*, for without that, you can have no correspondence with me, nor can I send you money. If you are forced to get *Hull* by force, assuredly you will need some *powerful aid* for besieging places. *The Prince of Orange* will send some if you wish it. As fast as I write, something always comes into my head ; but adieu, I have such a bad tooth-ache that I scarcely know what I am doing.

The Hague, this 16th April.

The letter, on which there is no direction, is for *Will Murray* (?).

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 86 b.]

[May, 1642.]

My dear heart,

After much trouble, we have at last procured some money, but only a little as yet, for the fears of the merchants are not yet entirely passed away. It was written from London, that I had carried off my jewels secretly, and against your wish, and that if money was lent me upon them, that would be no safety for them ; so that all this time, when we were ready to conclude anything, our merchants always drew back. At

last, it was necessary to show your power, signed under your own hand, about which I have written to you before, and immediately we concluded our business. I thought it better and safer to send it you as I do without noise, than for you to send *different persons to fetch the money*, for it will not be *known that it will be for you*, and as much, *and as little at once*, as you please. I thought this way more assured *than to send it in specie*, for were you to change your *place*, the money of this country would not pass, and in money of England we could not get it. I have given up your pearl buttons, and my little chain has done you [good]. You cannot imagine how handsome the buttons were, when they were out of the gold, and strung into a chain, and many as large as my great chain. I assure you, that I gave them up with no small regret. Nobody would take them in pledge, but only buy them. You may judge, now, when they know that we want money, how they keep their foot on our throat. I could not get for them more than half of what they are worth. I have six weeks' time in which to redeem them, at the same price. My great chain, and that cross which I had bought from the queen my mother is only pledged. With all these, I could not get any more money than what I send you. I will send to-morrow to *Antwerp*, to pawn your ruby collar, for as to [that], in *Holland*, they will not have it. For the largest collar, I am waiting a reply from *Denmark*. Every day, hopes are given me that those of Amsterdam will lend me money.

This is all that concerns money : but if we put all our jewels in pledge, and consume them without doing anything, they would be lost, and we too; for we should have nothing left to help ourselves with, when we should need it. For this reason, lose no time; you have lost enough already. Take a good resolution and pursue it. Remember your own maxims, that it is better to follow out a bad resolution, than to change it so often. I have received your letters by the man already named—they have made me very sad, for you do not speak of giving up *your magazine as lost*. I must tell you again, that you see that if at first you had acted as you had resolved, it might have been gained at this time, and also, since you had once tried to get it, it was needful to go on; for to begin, and then to stop, is your ruin—experience shows it you. It is not enough to declare yourself in writing; actions must afterwards be seen. It is true that your game is yet fair enough, but if you do not play it well, it will not be gained. You must dare, and as to Hull, if your magazine is not yet out of it, you must play Hotham some skilful trick, for otherwise, there is nothing to hope. As long as you do not declare yourself, you cannot judge of your power, for no one will dare to declare himself. And think too, that I am risking all we have left in the world to get money, and that, when that money fails, there is no more, and that when it will be needful to pay persons for fighting, there will be no more; wherefore, time is precious. I am very glad that you have commanded *

* The rest of this letter is wanting.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 40.]

My dear heart,

The wind having been contrary, so that Sir Baladin has not been able to cross, and having received letters from you by Cochram, in which I see you are not certain of your voyage to Ireland, I wished to write you this line, still sending what I had written before, and which I believe you will have already received also by another road. I will reply to your letter, where you say that if you can go to *Ireland*, and that the road by *England* is not safe, that you will go to *Ireland* by *Scotland*, which is a road that I apprehend extremely; for the troops* who are going are entirely devoted to the *Parliament*, and they will hold you as a prisoner, if the *Parliament* please: thus you cannot join the army of the *Catholics* nor approach *Dublin* by that road; I think that by *Wales* would be the most sure, if that country is well affected. You can always raise men enough there for a regiment for your person, as was your design, and to leave thence you have a ship for *Ireland*, of which you can make use; and be assured [of] *Stradlin*, and also of him whom I have with me, and indeed those of the fleet, who are well affected, and make them come on some pretext. If you were assured that the troops who should go to *Ireland* are going very soon, and *Scotland* would remain without these persons who are not well affected to you, *Scotland*

* Perhaps regiments or officers, "ensemble" is the cipher-word used.

would be a *good place* for *you* to go to, but whilst these devils are there, there is no safety; and do you think that *the Parliament* having refused for *you to go*, that the *troops will let you go*? I am much afraid lest this affair of the *militia spoil your design*. I pray God that you may *refuse it*.

I do not write to *Lanark* (?) for you send me word that he is not there; if he be, you will tell him the reason why I do not do so.

As to the man whom you ask for, I pray you send a warrant under your hand to Santerre, who commands the ship which is here, to wait my orders; for the warrant he has is under the hand of Pennington, and at this time, that cannot serve him. Also a letter for the king of Denmark, only of ceremony, like that you gave me before, and send me a copy of it, to make use of, if it be necessary. If you have already done it, you must send it me again. Adieu, my dear heart.

This 5th May.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 56, 58.]

My dear heart,

I have received your letter by the post, with the message that the Parliament has sent you, which I think is pretty fair, since they believe they can have every thing by speaking high words. As to your journey into Ireland, I say nothing about it, having written on that

subject before ; but as to the discourse you have had with *Culpepper* (?) about Hull, I must say in truth, that to me it is a strange thing, that there is any one who can argue against that, and that you have not *attempted to get* it already ; for the *longer you wait, the worse it will be* : and [can you] believe, that *if there come a fleet to fetch away the arms, you will be able to hinder it* ? If, before that, you do not *get the place*, the folly is so great, that I do not understand it. *Delays* have always *ruined you*. As to your *answer on the militia*, I would believe that you *will not consent to pass it for two years*, as I understand you will be *pressed to do*, and that *you will refuse it*. But perhaps, it is already done ; *you* are beginning again your *old game of yielding everything*. For my own consolation, however, I will hope the contrary, till I hear *the decision* ; for I confess that if you *do it*, you *ruin me in ruining yourself* ; and that, could I have believed it, I should never have quitted *England* ; for *my journey* is rendered *ridiculous* by what *you do*, having *broken all the resolutions* that *you and I* had taken, except of going where *you are*, and that to *do nothing*. If you had been willing to *cede the militia* when *I was in England*, I could have *satisfied the Parliament*, as *I said* ; but you have done in this, I am afraid, as you did in *the affair of the bishops* ; for at one time, you could have entered into an *accommodation about that*, and you were *obstinate that you would not*, and after all, you *yielded it*. Meanwhile, *I went out of England, contrary to every body's opinion*, in the confidence *I had of what you would do*, and I have

made myself ridiculous ; whereas, if you had done as you had resolved, it would have been seen that what you yielded all that time, was only out of fear of danger to my person, and from your affection to me, and not for want of resolution, and that I had been in the right to go away : whereas, hitherto there is ground for believing that it is a vagary or a folly ; for as for staying in York, without doing anything, I might have done that.

Forgive me for writing all this to you : the truth is, that I see I shall be *constrained* by my *misfortunes, to retire* to some place where I can *pray to God for you*. I understand they are willing to give you tonnage and poundage for three years. I repeat to you, that if you cannot have it as you ought, that is to say, in your own power to dispose of it, you pass a thing against yourself: you see it by experience, for all that has been hitherto done with it, has been against you. As to what you write me, concerning the 7000 pieces, I will not fail to send them.

As to the esquire of James, the man to whom you have promised it is Mr. ———. He was a cornet of Henry Percy's company, a gentleman of worth. I think, that for the present, one in that place is enough. I send you this man express, hoping that you will not have *passed the militia bill*. If you have, I must think about retiring for the present, into a convent, for you are no longer capable of protecting any one, not even yourself.

Adieu, my dear heart.

The Hague, this 11th May.

As I was closing this letter, arrived Sir Louis Dives, who has told me all that has passed at Hull. Do not lose courage, and continue to act with resolution, for now is the time to shew that you will make good what you have undertaken, or you are lost. You must have Hull, and if the man who is in it does not submit, you have already declared him a traitor, you must have him *alive or dead*; for this is no longer a mere play. You must declare yourself; you have testified your gentleness enough, you must shew your justice. Go on boldly: God will assist you. You see what you have got by not following your first resolutions, when you declared *those* of the *Parliament* traitors. Let that serve you as an ensample; do not delay longer now in consultations, it is action which must do the work at this hour;—it is time. I have wished myself in the place of James in Hull; I would have flung the rascal over the walls, or he should have done the same thing to me.*

As to money, *Goring* (?) is gone to hasten it. He doubts not of having it in a week. I am in such haste to dispatch this bearer that I will say no more, nor write to any one else in the world. Courage! I never felt so much: it is a good omen. You must go on boldly in case of need; the time is come, since I see that there is no hope of an accommodation. May heaven load you

* The young Duke of York was sent to Hull, in charge of the Prince Elector Palatine, just before the king's personal summons to Sir John Hotham, to surrender, which, as is well known, was disregarded. Clar. Rebel, vol. i. p. 686.

with as many benedictions as you have had afflictions, and may those who are the cause of your misfortunes, and those of your kingdom, perish under the load of their damnable intentions !*

To Madame St. George.

[Bethune MS. 9312, folio 48. Holograph.]

Mamie St. George,

This gentleman who is leaving is so fully informed of the reasons which have induced me to leave England, that when you learn them, you will be astonished that I did not do so earlier, for unless I had made up my mind to a prison, I could not remain there ; but still if in this I had been the only sufferer, I am so accustomed to afflictions that that would have passed over like the rest : but their design was to separate me from the king my lord, and they have publicly declared that it was necessary to do this ; and also that a queen was only a subject, and was amenable to the laws of the country like other persons. Moreover than that, they have publicly accused me, and by name, as having wished to overthrow the laws and religion of the kingdom, and that it was I who had roused the Irish to revolt : they have even got witnesses to swear that this was the case, and upon that, affirmed that as long as ever I remained with the king, the state

* This postscript, and two other letters, are printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlv. p. 364, with a brief notice of the MS

would be in danger, and many other things too long to write;* such as coming to my house, whilst I was at chapel, bursting open my doors, and threatening to kill everbody; but this I confess did not greatly frighten me; but it is true that to be under the tyranny of such persons is inexpressible misery, and during this time, unaided by any one, judge in what a condition I was.

If it should happen that I see you, I could tell you a hundred things which cannot be written, worse than anything that I have told you. Pray to God for me, for be assured that there is not a more wretched creature in this world than I, separated far from the king my lord, from my children, out of my country, and without hope of returning there, except at imminent peril—abandoned by all the world, unless God assist me, and the good prayers of my friends, amongst whom I number you. I entreat you to present my remembrances to Mamie Vitry, and tell her that I have so much to write, that I hope she will excuse me this time. Recommend me to the good

* In March, 1641, Parliament issued a declaration addressed to the king, to the effect—"That the design of altering religion in this, and in your other kingdoms, hath been potently carried on by those in greatest authority about you, for divers years together;—the queen's agent at Rome, and the Pope's agent or nuncio here, are not only evidences of this design, but have been great actors in it; intimating that a late design styled 'the queen's pious intention,' for which English papists fasted and prayed weekly, was for the alteration of religion—that the Irish rebels, calling themselves the queen's army, and marking their booty with the queen's mark, tend to the same belief."

Carmelites of Paris. I would fain, if it were possible, wish myself with them, but I know not if it will be permitted me. I assure you it is the only thing I think of with pleasure. Recommend me also to my niece,* and believe that nothing can prevent my being what I have always promised you,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

The Hague, this 28th of May.

To the Conte de Chavigny.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

Monsieur de Chavigny,†

I have ever recognised in you so much care to oblige me on all occasions, that I should be ungrateful were I not to thank you for it, and particularly for your last letter, which the Sieur de Gressy has given me; in which I see that you pitied me in my misfortunes, which surely are not small, and that you offer to serve me. I trust so much in your generosity, and in the assurances that you have given me of your affection, that I venture to believe that, when opportunities shall arise, you will do it. I

* Mdle. de Montpensier, who was then under the care of Mamie St. George.

† The person to whom this letter is addressed is Leon le Bouthilier, Comte de Chavigny, Minister and Secretary of State to Louis XIV., and a protégé of Cardinal Richelieu; shortly after the death of that potent minister, he lost his influence in the French court, and resigned his office.

entreat you to do so, and I assure you that if I could shew you the sense I entertain of your kindness, you would see that you were not obliging an ungrateful person, but one who will ever be ready to shew you by her actions what she says, were it only in her power. I have requested the Sieur de Gressy to tell you more particularly the condition I am in ; wherefore, I will say no more, except that I am

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

The Hague, 28th May, 1642.

To M. de Chavigny.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, folio 67 b.]

My dear heart,

As Sir John Biron's brother is returning, I have given him this letter. I expected to have had to send an express to you, to advertise you that the Holland ambassadors will set out to-morrow, but since he is going, I will make use of him. They are ordered to go and thank you for my daughter's journey and mine. You will please to thank them for the good treatment which I have informed you that we have received from this country ; and also tell them that I have written word to you that they were both persons of merit, who had shewn me that they were very well affected to your service ; pay them some compliments, and treat them well. They have orders to offer you their services for an accommodation. I am of opinion

that, on your part you should say to them that you are quite ready to receive your people as a good king ought to do, when they shall apply themselves to their duty, but that you are waiting for them to begin, and that you have already shewn your goodness sufficiently—for you have already done more for them than any of your predecessors, or even all of them together ever did,—and that this has been very ill repaid. They will ask your orders, that is if you be pleased for them to go to London, to propose an accommodation to Parliament: you must reflect thereupon, whether you would wish to let them go or not, for they will only do therein what you wish. Wherefore consult *Culpepper* (?) about it. If you permit them, I think the mode should be that they should address themselves only to some members of parliament, saying that the States having sent them to you to try to bring about an accommodation between you and your Parliament, they have been with you, and found that if they resume their duty, you are still willing to forget the past; and that finding you in this disposition, they thought themselves obliged to make it known to them, and, if the Parliament wished it, they would mediate: but great care must be taken that they do not apply publicly to the Parliament, but only to some amongst them who have the most power. You will consult *Culpepper* (?) thereupon, for great care must be taken that the Parliament should not believe that you desire an accommodation, for that would do great harm. You will let me know your reso-

lution, as to whether they shall go to London or not, and what would you have said to them thereupon.

I having nothing more to say, and am extremely weary, having had a long journey,* and to-morrow I must rise at six o'clock to go as far as from London to Newmarket; so, as it is eleven o'clock at night, I will conclude, being more yours than can be expressed.

Tregord, this $\frac{22\text{nd May}}{2\text{nd June}}$.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 44, b.]

My dear heart,

The Prince of Orange having given me seven horses, all bred from Barbaries, both father and mother, I have thought that it would serve you better to use them yourself than for me to use them for your service. I send them to you, and beg you to compassionate the groom who brings them. He cannot stay [here,] not being able to live on what they [give] him. He was my daughter's servant. I am expecting tidings from you with great impatience. I am going to see the army to-day, and shall return the eve of Pentecost. Meanwhile, I have given orders for the two hundred officers† which you ask for me in one of your letters; and as to an engineer, we

* The Queen and her daughter were on a visit to the army of the Prince of Orange, which was reviewed before them.

† See answer of States to the Queen, July, 1642, in which mention is made of these two hundred officers.

have found a very good one. As soon as I shall receive an answer to my letter, which I sent you by Apsley, I will do as you may command me, for I shall find here all that is needful ready. I will not trouble you]more but remain,

Ever yours.

This 23rd May
2nd June

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 61, b.]

My dear heart,

Since the wind has detained Barclay, I will write you again that I hope in three or four days to send you six *pieces* of *cannon*, with one hundred *barrels* of *powder* and two hundred *pairs* of *pistols* and *carabines*; the rest soon after. I shall also send for the present ten thousand *pieces*. I assure you that I lose no time; do you the same. I have thought of one thing, now that you have the great seal. Something should be done to show that Warwick is not legally in his place, for as long as he is placed there by the admiral, he has some pretext of right.* This is all that I have to say.

Send me word whether you wish the ambassadors from here to set off or not, for I shall delay them as long as I can, till I receive tidings from you; since I confess that, as affairs stand, I think it would be better for them not

* The Earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, admitted him vice-admiral, at the request of Parliament, in opposition to the king's nomination of Sir John Pennington.

to go: I shall wait your reply. I will send you in a very few days, an excellent petarder, an engineer, and two others whom he desires to take with him. Believe, my dear heart, that I have no joy but when I can serve you, and shew you that I am,

Entirely yours.

This 4th June.

I wish that you would send and fetch away the children who are at London; for, if affairs get to an extremity, they are not well to be there.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 29.]

In spite of the proclamation forbidding any of the so-called English traitors from approaching within ten miles of the queen's court,* Lord Digby wrote to the queen, welcoming her to Holland,† and offering to attend her, if he might be permitted so to do. This letter was intercepted, and never reached her, but she evidently gave encouragement to him and others of the party: her correspondence proves that their visits, if not openly allowed, were at least connived at by the Prince of Orange, and that they were of great service to their royal mistress; their intercourse with her was much complained of in England.

My dear heart,

I have received three of your letters in one week, the first, in which you tell me of the loss of your magazine, which was dated the 15th of May, and one by the post, which only arrived after that which Slingsby brought me. The loss of your magazine is a very sad affair, for we

* Newspaper, March, 1642. † Husband's declarations, p. 486

shall have much trouble to get *money* enough to buy these arms and send them to you; however, nothing shall be spared. By the way, I must say, that if you had not delayed this going to *Hull* so long as you did, I think that you would not have lost your magazine. This may show you that delays are not advantageous to you. By your letter, I see that you have resolved to try again to get *Hull*. By this time, it is done, or has failed. I pray God for the best. I am astonished that you suffer the commissioners to stay, after you have told them that it was at their peril they remained, if they did anything against your services, which they have done so publicly, that you ought to have kept your word with them.

Touching *Lanark* (?) I have not thought fitting to give him your letter, for he is already in some suspicion, and your letter would have shown him that there was an attempt to get rid of him. We must not [let him] despair. I will detain him as long as I can. I have made arrangements about the memoir you send me, and about forwarding you money in specie at once. *Slingsby* has given me two papers to send you. Consult with your friends thereupon, but do not say whence the papers come. As to what you send me word, I beg you not to do it yet.

I have seen O'Neal, who has told me whence he came. That makes me think that there is no more danger in the traitors coming to me. I have given leave to *Finch*, (?) *Digby* and *Jermyn* (?) to come and visit me: this will give me great pleasure, for I have nobody in the world

in whom to trust for *your* service, and many things are at a stand-still, for want of some one to serve me. *Digby*, who was the only one, is gone *to the army*.

I have resolved to send a person into France, to pay a compliment to the king, my brother, in return for that he paid me, and at the same time my grand almoner will speak about what *the ambassador* has done in *the Parliament*, to try to have something done *publicly* to repair what he has done, and also to try to have *me* invited to go to *France*. I can assure you, that I have no intention to go *there*, if *I* can come to *England*, but I should be very glad to *have* a place assured, in case of necessity; for *Ireland* is a strange place; and also if we are unfortunate enough to *need foreign help*, it is very proper to try to assure ourselves of *France*, and that gentleman that was here said no one would be heard but *me*. I must try, but without doing anything against your honour.

I am ever returning to the old point—lose no time, for that will ruin you—you have had experience of it often enough: and believe, my dear heart, that I am moved to speak by no consideration in the world but by that of my affection for you; for, as to myself, when away from you, all is indifferent to me; my actions will shew it you as well as my words, being,

Ever yours.

This bearer has begged me to write to you on behalf of his wife, to place her with my little daughter; I have promised him to do so, but I think you will do well to

tell him that you cannot place any one till Lady Roxburgh's return.

The Hague, this $\frac{30\text{th May}}{9\text{th June}}$.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 20.]

My dear heart,

This is to shew you that I let slip no opportunity that I can find of writing to you, without so doing. This bearer being at Musille,* and going away, I thought it was safe enough to send you word by him that we have at length, after much labour, concluded our *bargain for arms* to the *value* of ten thousand *pieces*; in two or three days, if *the wind is good*, I will send them, and by that opportunity I will let you know many things.

I am in pain not to have received tidings from you. The report here is that you are before Hull. You may judge of the anxiety I am in. This is all I shall say by this bearer, except that I have no joy but in assuring you that I am with you in thought and affection, and more yours than yourself.

This 17th June.

To the king, my lord.

To Louis XIII.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.]

The only ground for the hopes, real or feigned, expressed in the following letters, was that the king was beginning to take up arms, and nothing short of sorrowful experience could convince

* Sic. Query the mouth of the Meuse.

the queen that strong measures would not prove successful. On the same day, she wrote a letter of courteous thanks, similar in purport, to M. de Chavigny.

Sire,

Sending Arpe, one of my gentlemen servants, to thank your majesty for the honour you have done me by M. de Gressy, I cannot refrain from troubling you with this letter, and shewing you by this opportunity, as well the joy it has been to me, as the honour it has done me, and the consolation too in my misfortunes, which I hope are beginning to take a turn. I have commanded this gentleman to inform you of this, believing that your majesty will be very glad of it, since you have shewn me so great goodness all the time they were in a bad plight, which I shall never forget: and if I could be happy enough by some service to shew you my sentiments, I would dare to say that your majesty would see that it is with true affection that I shall live and die, sire,

Your most humble and most obedient sister and servant,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

The Hague, 3rd July, 1642.

To the King, my brother.

To Madame St. George.

[Bethune MS. 9312, folio 51, Holograph.]

[3d July, 1642.]

Mamie St. George,

I have ordered this gentleman, whom I am sending into France, to the king my brother, to see you from me. He will tell you the situation of our affairs, which I hope are beginning to take a turn. I have lately received one

of your letters, in reply to that which I had written you by M. de Gressy, in which I see, what I have never doubted indeed, your affection for me, and the pity which you feel for my misfortunes, for which I thank you, assuring you that you are not obliging an ungrateful person, but one who, without compliment, will try to shew you the sentiments that she entertains towards you.

You send me word that you should like to know whether I shall go into France or not—that is a thing which I cannot as yet tell myself; but, according to all appearances, I think that I shall soon return into England, which is what I extremely desire. Pray to God for me, and have prayers offered up too by all the good nuns and monks, and, when you go to the Carmelites, recommend me to all those good girls, and believe me,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Mamie St. George.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, folio 83 b.]

My dear heart,

I had sent you word by Sir Louis Dives that *I* had sent Digby to the Prince of Orange, to know his resolutions as to wherein he was willing and able to assist you. Digby is returned, and has been more fortunate than the person who went there before, as you will see by the propositions and answers. In a word, *the Prince of Orange* shews a great affection, and he has ordered *his*

wife to say to me, that if he has not done it sooner, it is because those whom *I* had employed in it spoke to him of the matter with such indifference that he thought *I* did not care much about an answer. I would believe that is rather an excuse than anything else. It is true that I had commanded *Windebank* (?) to entreat, and he did it. I should be very sorry to tell *Lanark* (?); for, as to *Digby*, I had given him no order to press anything but what I had done to *Windebank* (?); but I beg that this may not go beyond yourself.

It is true that the *Prince of Orange* (?) ; *does not like Digby*, for he thinks him *violent*. I tell you everything, for I wish to conceal nothing, but I entreat you let no one know this of *Lanark* (?) The poor *traitors* who are *here* do not serve you ill. I wish all those who are near you were as diligent, and considered *their own interests* as little as *they*. If *Jermyn* (?) *Finch* (?) and *Windebank* (?) had not been in waiting, I know not what *I* should have done for *your service*, *Goring* (?) being gone to *Antwerp* for *money* for you. He has been absent a month, so that *I* should have had no one in the world to *assist me*, which is very necessary, for I have *business* enough in *your service* to employ still more. These poor creatures here have need that I should do them good offices, for I believe that in my absence, they will have ill ones done them ; but what I say, is only the truth : how unfortunate we always are !

Captain Fox has taken offence with your nephew, and in his spite against *Rupert* (?), has gone to the Downs,

notwithstanding the letters and warrants I sent him. It is a great loss, for all the sailors are on your side, as you will hear from this man whom I send you for this purpose. It is he for whom I spoke to you, to make him esquire to James. I have ordered Jermin to give you an account of his journey. Referring you to him, I will close by assuring you that there is nothing in the world, no trouble, which shall hinder me from serving you, and loving you above everything in the world.

Written the last, ——— this $\frac{6^{\text{th}}}{16^{\text{th}}}$ July.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. 7379, fol. 88.]

In the MS., fol. 42, there is a fragment of an unpublished letter from Charles I. to the queen, which is as follows:—

* * * * *

Bristol, for the betraying of it to Waller. Thus, both our prophecies are hitherto come to pass; but I pray thee no more of thine, the particulars of which is not yet discovered, but upon my word, it shall be thoroughly examined and exemplarily punished.

The London distractions do yet rather increase than diminish. Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, have quit their commissions: Warwick is gone to the Downs, he has been sent for, but comes not; but what will become of him is much and generally spoken of. I think he will cry craven, and submit, like the rest; yet his brother Newport, being of another judgment, is resolved to take a journey, in hope to make him redeem his fault by some great service.

As for Scotland, though of late I have had no particulars, yet I am certain that Montrose prospers well, for the London pulpit does much lament the sad condition of their dear brethren, and their commissioners are much fallen from their brags. The weekly dispatch is newly come, but nothing from thee, which I am sure would not be, if thou would but remember how welcome thy letters are to me ; indeed, I would rather have thee chide me than be silent, but do or not do, as thou wilt,

I am, and must be,

Eternally thine.

To one portion of this letter, the following contains a reply,—

My dear heart,

I had written you a letter by Prince Rupert, when he was at Helvoet Sluys, waiting for a wind, in answer to the other ; but my letter having arrived too late, it was brought back to me, Prince Rupert having set off, which makes me dispatch this man to you by Dunkirk, the wind being contrary by the other routes, to bring you the letter, which ought to have gone sooner, and also to know if Prince Rupert has arrived, being extremely uneasy about him, on account of the great tempest which has been on the sea ; and, since Dunning has returned to Helvoet Sluys, on account of the force of the tempest, I stop him, not knowing whether Prince Rupert has arrived where he expected, and not thinking it fit for him to go before I know where the other ships are. You must therefore send me word, and quickly, what you wish him to do.

I must tell you, in reply to your letter by the post, that you have no reason to complain of not having received my letters for a long time. The winds have been so contrary, over which I have as little power as you have over the Parliament, since they would not obey me when I commanded them; and, as to the post, I have no inclination to send by that way. You tell me, that you have been advised to send and ask *the advice of the judges*.* Without any *jealousy* whatever, I advise you not to do it; it is a thing than which nothing could be more ridiculous, and assuredly it were a folly to do it. As to the signature of the lords, I will send it you; *Goring* (?) is at *Antwerp*, the rest are away from here, but I will do it as soon as possible. I am astonished that *you* have not yet made *another admiral*. I would have *you* make *James*, and *under* him *Pennington*, as *Warwick* is *under Northumberland*. I think that should be done quickly.

I cannot refrain from alluding again to two things in your demand for reparation. The first touching the judges, upon which I dare not enlarge, as this letter passes through London; but I will only say, that I fear by that, you have lost a considerable *sum of money*—I think you will understand from whence. As to the other about the pardon, keep to the rule of my grand-

* The Parliament demanded that the judges should be chosen by themselves, and that all delinquents, in or out of the kingdom, should be surrendered to justice.

father. You pardon your enemies, but not your friends, and it is a strange thing that those who have offended you should be pardoned, and those who have obeyed you, excluded. I hope the Parliament, in their refusal to give up Sir John Hotham, who has been in actual rebellion, will set you an example; and the others have only spoken of serving you, and beg your orders, and are abandoned, even after you assured me of the contrary, in parting from me at Dover.

It might shake these persons, if they had not a great affection for your service; but I know they have too much generosity for that. I have no interest in this but yours, although I esteemed the unfortunates who have been ruined for us, which, I fear, is not the case with those who have advised you to do what you have done thereupon, and that their interest is to remove some, if not all, of those persons from you. I have nothing more to say, except that *Lanark* (?) will give you some papers, and will tell you what it is which, if you think proper to do it, will cause you to *have some money*. Keep the matter very secret, for *Will Murray* (?)^{*} even does not know it. As to the gifts, I have signed warrants here just as in England.

Excuse my letter being so badly written; I am

^{*} Will Murray came over to Holland in May. The Queen of Bohemia says of him, "Will Murray is come over to the queen: what he brings is kept very secret: he is very reserved to me, which he need not be, for I am not curious to ask what I see is not willing to be told."

troubled about my loss of the queen my mother, who died a week ago, but I only heard the news this morning. You must put on mourning, and all your suite also, and all the children.

Adieu, my dear heart, I cannot write more.

This $\frac{9^{\text{th}}}{19^{\text{th}}}$ July.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. p. 47.]

My dear heart,

I have received three of your letters at the same time, one by the ordinary, and the others by Knowles. I am extremely glad that you have received all mine. As to what you write me about *Culpepper's* (?) letter, that it was open, it was I who had opened it, thinking I had made a mistake, and put it into your packet. I was in haste to close it up again. I must confess a truth about my weakness: that although I have no doubt of your affection for me, yet I am not sorry to see by your letters, the pretty things you have put in them upon the small services that I render you where I am. Their being agreeable to you, is a greater pleasure to me than I can express, and if anything could increase both my affection and my zeal in your service, that would do it—for you know I like to be praised—but it is impossible to be increased. I have seen by *Digby's* letter, the good condition in which your affairs are, and the chances that *Digby* has run. I am in great trouble about poor Ashburnham, but I hope that he will do something for your

service by this misfortune. Both *Culpepper's* (?) letters were for *arms, money*, and about *Fox*. As to the first, by the first *good wind*, *I* will send the *powder*, one thousand *saddles* with the *pistols* and *carabines*, having found a *merchant* who assures me that he will deliver them where *I* please.* *As to the money*, by the end of this week, of which this day is Wednesday, *I* shall have thirty thousand pieces, but *I* know not what to do about sending them, *Fox* being gone, as you know. *I* will [not?] write more at length about this: *Culpepper* (?) will tell it you; only *I* must mention the greatest affliction in the world befallen *Digby* and *Ashburnham*. They understand by everybody that you suspect them of being come for an accommodation, and from York it is written that you have shown yourself dissatisfied with them. They have taken me as a witness of their actions since their arrival, which *I* can assure you have been only for your service, and [*I* can say] with the greatest truth that *I* think their coming has been no small advantage to your affairs, on account of their industry and diligence: for, believe me, when you know all, you will see what *I* tell you is true, and *I* will stake my word for them that they will never do anything but what you shall command them. They would be very miserable if, after having suffered so much for you, they were to

* In spite of the declaration of the States of their reluctance to assist the king against his subjects, they took no notice of the queen's military preparations, and permitted her to embark them undisturbed.

incur your bad opinion, which they would believe themselves to deserve, if they had any other thought than of continuing to sacrifice their lives for you, according as you may command them. At your leisure, if you think good, I will shew you the services that they have rendered you since their arrival.

I beg you to decipher my letters yourself, for I should not be very well pleased for what is not in cipher to be read. If *Culpepper* (?) would permit me to have him written to sometimes by *Jermyn* (?) it would be a great relief to me; for it is a great trouble to me to write the number of letters which I must write in cipher; for, since I have been in Holland, I have almost always pains in the eyes, and my sight even is not so good as it was. I know not whether it be the air of the country, or the writing, which is the cause of it, with the tears that are weighing them down sometimes. If he does not wish it, I will not do it. But I can assure him, that that is a person whom he may trust, and for whom I will answer—but let him act freely in saying to me yes or no. As to all our affairs, he knows them already, for you know how you and I trust in him, and that we have always found him faithful. I will not say more, having to write a long letter to *Culpepper* (?) in reply to his: only let us lose no time, that I may soon see you again, which is the principal aim of all my actions.

Adieu, my dear heart. There is one thing I have to beg of you: it is for Slingsby, who well deserves it, if there be a secretariat in the army to give it him, or else

a secretariat of the admiralty. Also if James is to have a master of the horse, do not dispose of it.

This $\frac{13^{\text{th}}}{23^{\text{rd}}}$ July.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 50 b.]

My dear heart,

I have sent you an ample dispatch by Knowles, but it may be that this will arrive sooner. I will therefore tell you that, at the close of the ensuing week, *I* will send you what *Culpepper* (?) asked for, and I thought it fitting to let you know it; that is to say, *for the money, the Prince of Orange* having sent *me* thirty thousand *pieces*, which *I shall receive* the day after to-morrow; but as to the *arms, in the first place, you* shall have one thousand *saddles* with all *appurtenances*, five hundred *carabines*, two hundred *firelocks*, ten *loads* of *powder*. As to your nephew, he is preparing to set out at the end of the coming week. *By him I will send the rest of the arms, and the money, not daring to send any by the merchant* who is now going. I will say no more, hoping that you will have received letters from me before this arrives. Only I will tell you, that *the merchant* who is now going *with the arms, will land at Scarborough or at Burlington, or else at Newcastle, because where Culpepper* (?) sent *me* word, is *dangerous*. Wherefore, take all needful care for *the disembarkation*. This letter is put [in cipher] from necessity, and then if it be taken, there will be those who will be fairly caught in deciphering what I am afraid of

being punished for, if it were not in cipher ; which is, in two words, the whole contents of this letter—that I am yours, and not the Parliament's.

This $\frac{14\text{th}}{24\text{th}}$ of July.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 26.]

My dear heart,

The winds being so contrary, I am constrained to use this opportunity, having sent two persons, one of whom, after having been four days at sea, has been driven back to Brill, and the other has not been able to leave at all. However, I hope that one, that is Ayre, is with you. I thought your nephew would soon be there, being all ready to start, but for this wind, the States having lent me a ship to conduct him. *I will send you all the arms that I have remaining, and also, I will send you for certain, twenty thousand pieces.* I have found from letters from *the Prince of Orange*, who is all that we could wish, that he has written these very words, “We must not do the impossible for *the king and queen*, for as to the possible, it is too little ;” and I assure you, that I think he will do all that can be desired.

If you give us a power for the *affairs* of the *East India Company*, we shall soon get from it fifty thousand pieces. *The Prince of Orange* has sent to Amsterdam, to give assurance that if *the merchants* would lend you money on your jewels, that he would make himself guarantee, and even for the *great collar*, which has some malediction

upon it, for nobody in the world *will have anything to do with it*. He has also given congé to *many officers to go and join Rupert (?)*, who requires some. Juin* has also sent him money. I think he is at this moment at the coast.

As to Prince Rupert, I cannot send you word where he will land, for it will be according to where he finds the coast clear.

There are some poor traitors here, who are in great apprehensions, that ill offices will be done them by those about you, for there are persons who write to them about it from York. I can assure you, that they rather deserve your esteem, being very faithful and *active in your service*; and, when you know all, you will find this, for believe me, there is no small trouble in doing anything with the *people of Holland*. I must recommend Slingsby to you, if there be a secretariat in the army, or admiralty, and also beg you not to engage yourself for any place near your person, without first advertising me of it; and if James has a grand esquire, not to dispose of it—and pray you to remember me to *Culpepper (?)*, *Ashburnham (?)*, and *Lanark (?)*; I dare not write to them by this opportunity, having heard that the letters taken from Ashburnham were opened, only excepting yours. I must close, not forgetting *Digby*, to whom you must tell the same. Begging you to be so good as to decipher my letters yourself, and to be assured that, notwithstanding the medicine I have taken to day, if the courier were

* Probably a pseudonyme.

sure, you would have a longer letter. Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{21^{\text{st}}}{31^{\text{st}}}$ July.

The queen, your sister, has begged me to write to you that she entreated you to have the goodness to write into France, in favour of M. de Bouillon ; but I do not think it fitting ; for you know that we are thought accomplices in that affair : that is very true, as much so as that the other is false. There is a person whom you know well, that is, *Dimob*, who says he has only accepted the militia to do you service, and that if you will be pleased to command him to do anything in his country, he will obey you, and will either come to you or stay where he is, as you please.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 55, b.]

My dear heart,

After having taken every care for the safety of Knowles' convoy, *with the arms, I have resolved to hazard them, seeing no surety, and considering the great need you have of them.* I hope and beg that as soon as Knowles has arrived, you will send me word, for you may imagine that I shall be in no small anxiety all this time. I was not able to send you by Tom Cooke a reply to the letter which I received by Cochram, being hurried to [get him off]. This shall supply the defect * *

The other who is * * * * *

(Half a sheet is here torn away, the following page continues)
*that I tell you, that if once you make an accommodation without that bill being repealed, and upon this dismiss your guards by agreement, will you be able to engage the lords an other time to assist you in case that you cannot succeed in putting an end to this perpetual Parliament :** for when they shall find *their own profit*, they will no longer care for *you* ; and as to the *perpetual Parliament*, that *will be* very indifferent to *them*. I cannot refrain from saying this, thinking it for your service, which will always be before anything else in the world with me : and, for my own small share, I confess to you that the *life* that I have *led during this reign* has been so insupportable, that I do not think I could live again *under that tyranny*. I am most impatient to hear the reply you have had from the parliament, for by that I hope to be able to judge about my return, which I am impatiently longing for. This is the third letter to-day, and I may tell you that I have burnt two others, which the wind would have made to bear too ancient a date. I have chosen to send you the first, which should have gone by Knowles, that you may count how many I have written between these two—one a day, of which three are burnt. I do not write to *Culpepper* (?) by this opportunity,

* The queen had been urged from England, to induce the king not to consent to an accommodation, a task which she undertook with hearty good-will.—*Special passages, Aug. 1642.*

having written this morning by Thomas Cook, at least to him and *Ashburnham* (?) together. I deserve to be praised as a reward for my diligence, if I were not already amply recompensed by the pleasure I take in it;—that is to say, not in writing, but in serving you, and thus deserving the continuation of your affection, which is the only thing that pleases me in this miserable world.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{29\text{th July}}{8\text{th August}}$.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 75 b.]

My dear heart,

At length the prince is setting off, after much trouble, as he will tell you; I have nothing to do but to recommend him, for he will go with a strong desire to serve you alone. *He should have* some one to *advise him*, for believe me, *he is yet* very young and *self-willed*. I have had experience of him. This is why I thought it fitting to warn you of it. He is a person capable of doing anything that he is ordered, but he is not to be trusted to take a single step of his own head. Do not let this go beyond *Culpepper*, (?) *Ashburnham*, *you*, and *me*, I beg you. Percy has begged me to write to you for him, that you would be pleased to give him the command of a cavalry regiment. Think whether you find it fitting, and do what you please therein, only if you do not find it fitting, do not speak of it, and let me know. I have

written to *Culpepper* (?) a letter in reply to his, and also something for him to tell you, with which I will not trouble you, referring to him to tell it you. Will you please to give him a copy of our cipher, his is so wretched, and I mix one cipher with another, and that gives me trouble.

There is a person here very zealous in your service, and that is Fox. He has begged me to recommend him to you, that he may have some employment in the cavalry. He is a man of courage and worth, but as to experience, I can say nothing about it. I send you eight thousand pieces* by Prince Rupert; three thousand of them are acquaintances of yours. They are what I have left of what I brought with me, and I am left without a sous, but it matters not. I will reimburse myself as soon as I can. I had rather be in want than you. Ten thousand† will be sent soon by *Newcastle*, five of which have left already. You cannot imagine how we are crossed here. I will say no more, but that I will die of hunger rather than you should want.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{8\text{th}}{18\text{th}}$ August.

* Of money.

† 1,000 in the text, but seemingly a mistake for 10,000.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 27 b.]

With this letter commences a second cipher more seemingly complex, but in reality more complete than the former. It consists of figures only. Those up to 77 signify the letters of the alphabet, —the higher numbers, up to 379, are the names of persons, with a few common nouns, in most frequent use, as money, peace, treaty, rebels, arranged with some attention to alphabetical sequence. There is also a secondary cipher of a letter and a number placed together, to signify small words, such as “will, be, of, from,” &c. The key formed to decipher the queen’s letters has also unlocked several passages in those of the king, as printed in contemporary pamphlets, which have not hitherto been deciphered. The day after the penning of this letter, Charles I. set up his standard at Nottingham, and the war became a mournful reality.

My dear heart,

I have received your letter by Slingsby. Before this letter arrives, you will have heard from your nephew how you should have had more arms, and what has prevented it. Nevertheless, this very hour I have just received tidings that a merchant ship has arrived at Newcastle, which has brought you arms. Believe that I use all possible diligence, but the wind does not obey us. I am very bold [to venture] this without cipher, in case my letter should be taken. It is true that I hear they have made a declaration against me, and that I am not spared in any fashion in the world; this is why I have nothing to fear, for there are still many things which I may do before I should deserve all that is in it. I have

not seen it yet, but it has been promised me. *You send me word that the lords (?)** *have proposed an accommodation, I think your answer good; I believe the Earl of Northumberland has a great desire to go and join you, and for my part, I am of opinion that it is fit that you receive him, and if it happens that when I shall arrive in England, Northumberland comes to join me, I hope you will not take it ill if I receive him, for believe that it will be very advantageous for you and for me, in whatever place I may land. I have thought fitting to send you word of this, for the winds do not permit sending expresses, and this never fails.*

Touching my arrival in England, I am not yet well resolved when I shall land; I will wait your directions between this and my starting, not being able to get ready before a month.† I shall else be ready to obey you, and to fear none but God, for, as to the rebels, neither their writings nor their threats shall ever make me do anything, not even move me to make me angry with their follies; much less shall they frighten me,—God being my guide and my safeguard. He will not abandon me, and will do me justice against my enemies. It is to Him that I

* Or Londoners. From the plan of the cipher this word must be one that begins with L or M—the figures are 204. It does not occur again in the correspondence.

† The queen's arrival was eagerly anticipated by the Royalists as the signal of triumph. "We hope soon to see your majesty," wrote the Marquis of Hertford to her, "and hey! then down go they." Letter of Hertford to the queen. 4 Lond. 1642.

appeal to avenge me; assuredly He will not abandon you—be confident of it. After this, I cannot refrain from telling you the joy that I feel about getting away, hoping to see you again in a month, in spite of all the wicked people who would wish to separate us, which is no small delight to me, and in truth I am afraid it will turn my brain, for I do nothing in the world but think about it, since it is the only pleasure which remains for me in this world: for, without you, I should not wish to remain in it an hour, seeing nothing in it but wickedness so abominable, that it is horror to be in it. This I say and protest to you, under no vexation whatever, as simply the truth, and with my spirit as tranquil as it has been perhaps for two years. *I have sent Jermyn to the Prince of Orange, to conclude all our affairs.* By the first opportunity I will let you know more, and particularly on the business of Saintybar, which is not at all *advantageous for you.* I wished to tell you this, *en passant.*

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{24\text{th August}}{4\text{th September}}$.

To the King, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 79.]

My dear heart,

I think you do not yet know that the rebels, under the name of Parliament, have sent here to the States an ambassador or envoy, with letters of credence which I

send you, just as they have similarly sent Augier into France. The man who is come here, is called Strickland. As soon as I knew it, I sent to tell the prince, and Sir William Boswell went to see the States, to prevent his public reception, which has been done: but still they have sent to the rogne in private, to know what his commission was. He has brought a declaration which is not yet public, but there are persons here in whom the gallant has confided, who have not kept the secret, although being of the elect: and by them, I understand that they desire the assistance of these States to free them from their present slavery, and render them free men, as the kingdom of England helped them to do the same against their king.* They complain also, that the Prince of Orange assists you, and desire the States not to permit any arms, money, or men, to leave these States to order to go against them: and upon that, they say that the same arms might easily be turned against them one day. In three quarters of it, they preach upon religion, how you are wanting to change it. This is all that I have been able to learn; as soon as I can get that declaration, I will send it you. If I think *fitting*, I will make a *reply* quickly, in order to show their malice, and try to undeceive *Holland*; simply a *relation* of the things which the *Parliament* has done against you, and that you have done for the *Parliament*. I hope you

* Alluding to the liberation of the Dutch from Spanish rule, by the assistance of Queen Elizabeth.

will avow me when you hear it spoken of, or else that you will not say a word about it.

*The elector** has proposed to me to go to Denmark himself for your service. I do not know whether you think it fitting for your service, and also whether those who are with him are persons to whom one may trust: for you know what the man is of himself. *He has formed some propositions*—namely, whether you wish to have men or money, ships, and so on. If you think the elector is a person fit to go, send instructions. I do not however forbear sending Cochrane at once into Denmark. Consider well what you wish to do about what I write to you; I am so weary, having been talking all day, and been in a passion about the envoy, that I am afraid my letter is no sense. Please to get some one to help you to decipher it, for I have written it in such a fashion that I fear you will have trouble. If I do not turn mad, I shall be a great miracle; but, provided it be in your service, I shall be content—only if it be when I am with you, for I can no longer live as I am without you.

Adieu, my dear heart.

The Hague.

This $\frac{21\text{st August}}{8\text{th September}}$.

* Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, then at the Hague.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 14.]

My dear heart,

I know not whether I may venture to say, that now when the wind is good, I send you a part of what you have asked me for, for it has so often changed as I was writing, that I would not venture to say anything more about it. This bearer is so safe, that I shall not trouble with the cipher. He will tell you what has passed here touching the rebels' ambassador. I have written to you by a fresh mode, many things in cipher about the elector, but for fear I should have done it ill, because I was so sleepy, for it was an hour after midnight,—I will tell you again, that the elector has let me know that, if you were willing, he was desirous of going into Denmark for your service. At first, he wished it to be kept secret, for fear of the Parliament, but after I had told him that I could not venture to send him without your knowledge, he thinks that I had some suspicion of him. On that his sister, who is the person with whom I treat, [said] that he would go publicly, if I wished it. Nevertheless, I find that he does not wish it to be known, if that could be. Also you know that if you employ him, it will be necessary for him to confide in some of his people. It is for you to consider the esteem in which you hold them. Moreover, he would desire you to enter into no accommodation during his stay in Denmark, without warning

him of it ; and in fact, also into no treaty without comprising him. Think now, if you wish to have money from that country, on what pledges ; if they will not receive the jewels,* whether you are willing to give lands also : whether you wish him to promise your assistance to maintain your uncle in the Sounds. Whether you wish to have the men from that country, or ships ; that is whether the commanders should be German, for assuredly the Germans will not obey foreigners. In case your uncle were willing to come himself, whether you would wish it. Whether you are willing to promise a friendship so close as to assist your uncle on a similar occasion, if he needed it. Think first, whether you find it suitable that your nephew should go, or else return into England with me ; and send me your directions thereupon promptly. Meanwhile, I send Cochrane with some general propositions ; but when I shall have received your reply, in case that you do not think it fitting for your nephew to go, yet you can still send me instructions about what I name to you here, and I will send them to Cochrane to treat on the particulars. You must make haste, for the season is advancing, and the seas out there are frozen. The Parliament has sent to give your nephew thanks for returning from England, but he has not, up to this time, made them any reply.

Touching my voyage, I am preparing with all possible

* The Parliament had issued a strong declaration against the legality of pawning the crown jewels, so that foreigners were afraid to meddle with them.

diligence. Send me word where I must land. You will see Slingsby's propositions, which I send you by his brother ; but I will only say one thing, that in whatever place I land, be it where it will, I conclude that it is fitting that I should come to you. In whatever place I were, unless it were to join you, it would be suspected on account of my religion. It is true that I can go well attended, and not quite alone. You can judge of this better than I, but my intentions are to serve you as long as I can, and to suffer with you all sorts of hazards, in order by some means to try to merit your affection ; and believe, that were it not for your sake only, I should not care to be in this world, for I should be happier in a place where I should never see any one ; such horror have I of the wickedness of the world. This [is] very true.

I must tell you that I find General Ruthven is going away very well affected for your service, but displeased enough, because his countrymen are not employed—think of it a little : he is a person not to be despised : he is capable of doing you service or disservice. Have a care of him, believe me, and satisfy him with all our party in Scotland, and call in my Lord Roxburgh about that. Nobody must be despised at this time. This letter is so long, that I am afraid it will weary you, coming after what I have written lately. You may judge by that, that I am not weary of doing it, and of showing you by all sorts of ways that I am yours. I am awaiting Jermyn, whom I have sent to the prince. If he return

between now and to-morrow morning, you shall know the answer ; if not, the wind will wait for nobody. Adieu.

30th August
10th September.

This letter should have come by Cornwallis in the boat arrested.*

To Charles I.

[Ibid. f. 20.]

My dear heart,

Since my letter was written, I have had a reply from the prince, such as I could desire ; and according to what I wrote you before, so that I shall await nothing but your reply to know where I am to land. I have been begged by Sir William Withipole to write to you for his pardon. He would desire to come and serve you ; you will do as you think fit about it. *I shall have eighteen ships to go with me to England.*

To the King, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 51.]

Several letters from the king to the queen about this time were intercepted, and Henrietta became so dreadfully anxious for tidings that she is even said to have put on a disguise, and gone alone into the shop of a Dutch bookseller to inquire the latest news from

* It was stopped by the States of Holland, at the request of the Parliamentary agent, Strickland. See p. 102 *infra*.

England, when her agitation betrayed her, and she was glad to make a precipitate retreat.*

My dear heart,

I had sent off a person to come to you, but the wind has not permitted. I am in extreme anxiety, hearing no tidings from you, and those from London are not advantageous to you. Perhaps by this they think to frighten me into an accommodation; but they are deceived. I never in my life did anything from fear, and I hope I shall not begin by the loss of a crown; as to you, you know well that there have been persons who have said that you were of that temper; if that be true, I have never recognised it in you, but I still hope, even if it has been true, that you will shew the contrary, and that no fear will make you submit to your own ruin and that of your posterity. For my own part, I do not see the wisdom of these Messieurs rebels, in being able to imagine that they will make you come by force to their object, and to an accommodation: for as long as you are in the world, assuredly England can have no rest nor peace, unless you consent to it, and assuredly that cannot be unless you are restored to your just prerogatives: and if even in the beginning you should meet with misfortunes, you will still have friends enough who will assist you to replace yourself. I have never yet seen nor read an example which can make me doubt of it by any means. Resolution and constancy re

* Newspaper, 1642.

two things very necessary to it, assisted by the justice of our cause. Neither God nor men of honour will abandon you, provided you do not abandon yourself.

You see that I do not even fear lest this should be opened. I will venture to say that although it be not thought good, it will not be printed; that would be just the contrary of what is now done, for what they find just and good they hide, and what is thought bad is printed. That shews that JUSTICE suffers with us. Always take care that we have her on our side: she is a good army, and one which will at last conquer all the world, and which has no fear. Although perhaps for a time she hides herself, it is only to strengthen herself to return with greater force. She is with you, and therefore you should not fear: you will both come out together, and will appear more glorious than ever. I am very sure of it. See the effects of a melancholy solitude, but not at all of vexation, for, when I reflect well on all these things that I have been writing to you, I find myself so satisfied that no ill-humour can have any power over me, not even the ordinances of Parliament, which are the effects of one of the worst humours in the world. Considering the style of this letter, if I knew any Latin, I ought to finish with a word of it; but as I do not, I will finish with a French one, which may be translated into all sorts of languages, that I am yours after death, if it be possible.

This 31st August
11th September.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol, 35.]

My dear heart,

Since my letters written by this bearer, I have at this moment received your letters by Knowles and Adrian May, who have arrived within an hour of each other. By them I perceive a great change, which has surprised me not a little, for I *fear* that *you are ruined by what you have sent [to] the Parliament,** and that *everybody will abandon you*, for it may well be judged that *if the Parliament listen to a treaty*, all those who have served you will be *excluded*, and I fear that the *lords* even of *your party* will be very glad of it, for they are *rogues* who *fear good people*, and provided they *live in repose*, they *will care little for your honour*. You should take good care of what you grant, for *you are [lost] for ever* if you *abandon your servants*, and do not *avow* them in all *that they do for your service*. That has ruined all the work of *the army* of last year, because *you did not avow it at the beginning*. If you *abandon your servants*, it will be *worse than your crown*; for as long as you have [*friends*] *there is still hope of getting it again*, but if you *abandon them*, you will never find them again, as I understand for certain, and no *crown* neither. You see clearly enough that the *gentlemen* are those who must do the business, and the *lords* [*are those*] who *ruin you*. I

* Referring probably to the proposition for composition made by the King to the Parliament, through Southampton and Culpepper, in August.

would not tell you all this if I did not, from here where I am, hear all *your army complain* and say ‘*we are abandoned.*’ As for *me* I will not see that, for I shall assuredly retire to some place, like a good country lady, where I can pray to God to take care of you, as he has assured me he will, for I confess that *I could never bear to see it* voluntarily; yet, if it were by force, I should suffer it, ever having a hope to *emerge from it*.

Excuse this trouble,—I confess that I am *touched to the heart*. I fear that the fault about the sending of money and arms will be laid upon me. As to the first, the accidents which have happened will be told you by this bearer; for the second, I send you a memorial that you may see how all things go; and you would have had a considerable sum of money if you had not needed arms to be bought, which I did not expect at my setting out, and even since I have been here, I have been more than four months without having any order for arms; and in the memorial that you sent me afterwards, you asked me why there were no muskets. Though you had not made it my business, yet without order, I did not fail to buy two thousand. Afterwards you sent to ask for more, which we have bought, but the wind does not permit to send them sooner, besides the other difficulties that you know of; but these only arrived four or five days ago. I will trouble you no more, but I beg you to take the pains to decipher this letter yourself. I have not been able to send you my memoir; you shall have it by the first opportunity.

This $\frac{3^{\text{rd}}}{13^{\text{th}}}$ September.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 69.]

The king and his party were sorely embarrassed for want of the necessary stores, both of arms and money, for carrying on the war; some of them were disposed to throw the blame, where it least deserved to rest, upon the queen. Rumours of discontent reached her, though not directly from the king, and elicited the following clear and full statement of her proceedings. It is evident from the tone of the latter part of the letter, that the king had been influenced by those about him in some degree, to undervalue the queen's efforts.

My dear heart,

I cannot refrain from dispatching an express to you, to render you an account of my actions here, perceiving well that they are trying to throw many things upon me which I do not deserve; and, at the same time, to take away from me what in justice I ought to have.

You will allow me to begin my history at Dover, when I set out, and to come down to the present. You know that when I left you, your intentions were to go to York, as you have done; moreover, if you found the country well affected, even to go to Hull, to render yourself master of your arms; which design, after you had arrived at York, was changed and retarded, upon some ground that I have never known, notwithstanding that you found the country all that you could desire, which, I think must be apparent to you, has caused the loss of that place. I, however, who had no other order than to try to get money, notwithstanding all the difficulties, which were not small, (for the jewels on which you expected to raise some

finding no market, I was constrained to pledge my own (which you gave me, and such as I bought myself) have raised a pretty considerable sum, to commence our design. I do not cease striving to raise all I can upon all the rest, for I can say without vanity, that I think, if everybody had done their duty, as I have, you would not be reduced to the condition you are now in. Yet am I in Holland three months, hearing nothing but that it is thought, provided money could be had, all would go well: on that, I dispatched twenty thousand pieces to begin with, but always begging you not to eat your corn in the blade; these are my very words. This money was discovered, and thus you only received four thousand pieces: the rest returned here.

During all this time, arms were never once mentioned to me; nevertheless, fearing that Hull was not to be taken, having been too long delayed, I sent Slingsby to know if you have not need of arms: and on his return, you sent me a note, with the news that the arms were gone from Hull, on receipt of which note, I immediately bought all that was in it,* and I bought over and above one thousand muskets, and as many pikes and swords; which arms, as soon as the wind was good, I sent off by Strachan, and I sent one of your ships, the *Lion*, to go with him. As ill luck would have it, he was driven back by the tempest, and thus lost his passage, and not being satisfied that you would support him, notwithstanding all

* All the arms ordered in the note.

my diligence to assure him of it, he returned. Nevertheless, Strachan did not fail to arrive; but not with the arms, which had returned with the Lion in another little boat. As soon as I saw that there was no safety in returning the arms without a convoy, I desired the States to give a ship for Prince Rupert, in order by that way to dispatch arms—which I accomplished, though with no small trouble. Between the arrival of Strachan, and the setting out of Prince Rupert, I received several letters, in which you commanded me to make haste and send arms and money, without naming other arms than only those for cavalry, two thousand or three thousand pistols and saddles. As to the pistols, they were bought at once, and sent over, part by some merchants, the rest laden to go with your ship. As to the saddles, we could only get one thousand, and as to money, I could only send eight thousand pieces, for I was obliged to use what I had to buy arms, which was a thing I had not expected, and therefore I could have sent more, had I not been obliged to buy arms. I thought that fifty thousand pieces at first [would be] something, with what I was informed you were receiving from all sides, and I did not press on to pledge more hastily, for in so doing, much is lost; and the people in this country, the more they are hurried, the less they do. Yet I did not lose an hour's time, being always busy in pledging or giving up my jewels,—and I will even tell you this, *en passant*, that I spent all the money which I had brought with me, and even that of my private purse.

I return to the States, who lent a ship after much trouble. You know how this little boat having set off was sent back, and all for want of our knowing where the ships of the Parliament were, which is a thing that they never let us know with certainty here—and thus we knew not where to send, for sometimes my orders were for Scarborough, sometimes Newcastle, and then Holy Island. Nevertheless, when I ordered the places, though in sufficient uncertainty, it succeeded very well, as Knowles and the merchant [know]. See then your little boat returned. I make great haste to send it off again, as soon as the wind was good, with three thousand muskets more, having received one of your letters since your nephew's setting out, by which you ordered me to send five thousand muskets, which were ready two days after, but the wind always contrary. Cornwallis arrived, who told me that you wanted the muskets quickly: we prepared a new ship (in order not to hazard them all together), only for the three thousand muskets, and three thousand went by Amsterdam, one thousand by a merchant, and one thousand in the returned ship;—you see that I made provision for more than you ordered—which little boat, when ready to start, was arrested by the States at the request of Strickland, of whose quality I sent you word before. Nevertheless, I refrained not from sending out privately the one with the three thousand muskets, and three thousand by Amsterdam, with ten thousand pieces, four thousand swords which had only been asked from me by Adrian May. This is a relation about the arms, to

show you that I could not do more than I have done, not having my orders sooner, nor the wind in my favour.

As to money, I will send you a memoir, and I must tell you that these people here are so Parliamentary that it is with great trouble we can get anything from them. Nevertheless, I still hope to bring a considerable sum with me, although your message has extremely injured our affairs here, and I confess, but for the affection I bear you, would have extremely disheartened me: but I am resolved to serve you in spite of all the world, that I may have this pleasure in my life, although I expected to be wretched enough, that I have spared nothing for your service, and that I do my duty, although I have been extremely neglected. I do not accuse you of it, for you have been deceived as well as I, and it is a party trick that has been played you, which you will never recover.

Private interests have strange power over base souls, as are many of those near you, and I cannot refrain from reminding you of a letter you wrote me, in which you bade me beware of those three persons who were come to me. It had been, I venture to say, more advantageous for you, and more in season, to hearken to an accommodation then than now, although we were very far from dreaming of it. But it is too plain that those who are with you had no desire for that to take place through other hands than theirs, and they have vilified me, knowing well that I should never consent to anything against

your honour, mine being too closely attached to it, and had it not been so, my fidelity would never have permitted it. This was why they would not permit you to let me know of it, but allowed me to learn it by public report, which has brought me into such contempt that I am scarcely capable of doing you any further service; and again to forbid me to return, lest I should make you see the truth of this affair, which has not been the work of a day. A long time ago, I was assured from London, that there would be an accommodation in spite of me, if I would have nothing to do with it, and by those who were nearest you, who were then beginning to treat it; and they will persuade you that you are forced by want of arms. That may be, but it is their fault, for having hindered you from following out your first designs of going to Hull.

I think myself so unhappy that I have not the good fortune to feel it right to complain, only I have two things to beg of you; if you have an accommodation, to permit me to go to France for some time for my health, for I confess that I am not capable of undergoing what I must suffer, and perhaps there I might see you; but, in case there be no accommodation, let me come to you. I wish to share all your fortune, and participate in your troubles, as I have done in your happiness, provided it be with honour, and in your defence; for to die of consumption of royalty is a death which I cannot endure, having found by experience the malady too insupportable.

I have begged the States that my ships may be ready in a fortnight.

I beg your pardon for this long letter, but my heart, which was no longer capable of bearing this weight, has been relieved by it, for I confess that I thought myself the most wretched creature in the world, excepting you, for my reputation will ever remain to me, amongst honest people, and yours would be lost! God make me an ill prophet, and assist you and me also.

This $\frac{9\text{th}}{19\text{th}}$ September.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 36.]

The following letter shows clearly that, however Charles and his party might at times be tempted to govern their conduct by expediency rather than uprightness, the queen had a stronger sense of honour than they, and a clearer apprehension of the evils which are sure to ensue from making principle subservient to policy. The tone of her letter does credit alike to her head and her heart.

My dear heart,*

I expected to have sent this other letter before, but the person whom I was thinking of sending has been useful here in your service; if anything which is done here can be so. This will be to remind you of what you promised me at Dover, and have since often written to me, that you would never consent to an accommodation,

* This letter is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xliv. p. 362.

without my knowledge, and through me. As to that, it matters not, since nothing can change me, but if you do not take care of those who suffer for you, you are lost; and be assured that although you may be told you will recover them in time, you are deceived, for unless you do it in a "general pardon" they are all ruined, not by you though, for assuredly there are those amongst them who will take care of themselves; but what I say to you is for those whom they wish to ruin, because they are too much attached to you, as Digby, Percy, Jermyn, and O'Neal, I believe that if you suffer it, it is a great injustice. You see you must pardon all those who have actually been against you, and as to those who have been for you, you are to forget them, which is a thing so base that I well know it cannot proceed from you, but they make you believe that for the present it is better not to be stubborn about it, and that an accommodation should not be hindered for the sake of individuals. This is true, considering them as individuals, but in reference to your honour it is of great consequence, and you will see that the Parliament will not abandon their creatures, and that they will hold firm upon that; and do you think that if you, on your side, do the same, they will break their treaty? Not at all. They have too much advantage in a treaty to break it for three or four persons.

It is true, that if you always allow yourself to go on as you have done, notwithstanding all the promises you have made me, I must bear it. I beg you to take notice whether the Parliament yield in anything that they have once

undertaken. You are following the path you did in Scotland. Adieu royalty. There is no more of it at all for me; I am resolved to bear all, and to live in some place where I shall fancy myself a country girl, and leave you to follow the counsel of those who are wiser than I, as they think. I would venture at least to say, they are more cunning. If I have any little voice left in the accommodation, you will pardon me for sending you the conditions for which I think you ought to dispute. If you do not think them good, say not a word about them, and burn them; if not, keep them, and let no one know I have sent you them, not even those who are accustomed to see them.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Jermyn is gone into *Zealand* to set off two hundred men with provisions for *Portsmouth*.* Nothing shall discourage us, unless we have our death-blow. I have sent *Cochrane* into *Denmark*, and hope a good answer. I send you the copy of what I have given to *Cochrane*.

This $\frac{10^{\text{th}}}{20^{\text{th}}}$ September.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 163. Holograph.]

The Earl of Newcastle was personally well known to Henrietta, as the former governor of her eldest son. The position which he now held, as commander of the king's forces in the north, brought him into correspondence with the queen, relative to her proposed landing in Yorkshire, and her enemies gave his army the invidious title of the Queen's Army or the Catholic Army. Another letter

* For the support of Col. Goring, who was besieged in that town by the Parliamentary army.

from the queen to Newcastle, intercepted about this time, informed him that she only waited for the *Swallow* and *Bonaventure*, to conduct her ; giving particulars of arms and money sent over, together with two hundred experienced commanders and soldiers, such as would not turn their backs on the Northernites, if they chance to meet with them. This letter, with another to the king, was conveyed in a vessel that took some to the king ; on its being overtaken by the Parliamentary ships, the bag of letters was thrown into the sea, but fished up again.*

[October, 1642.]

Cousin,

I have received your requests by Davenant and Cook, whom I sent back to you, and have commanded Henry Jermyn to give you a most particular account on this subject : therefore, I will say no more, but that I am very well satisfied with your propositions, and that I will do my very utmost to give you satisfaction thereupon, thinking the thing very useful for the king's service. I will say nothing more, except to assure you that I am so sensible of your services that I shall never be satisfied till I have shewn you by the effects what I say, being

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my cousin the Earl of Newcastle.

* Newspapers, Oct. 1610.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 49.]

My dear heart,

I lose no opportunity of writing to you by the post. I beg you to do the same, for it is six weeks since I had any tidings from you except by the posts, no express having arrived since Adrian May, and all the news from London is not to your advantage, which, as you may judge, pleases me not, when I receive no letters from you to console me. There is a poor man arrived here, who has come to seek birds, who says he left the place where you are a fortnight ago. He has comforted me much by his relations, simple though they be; I rather believe them true than the printed ones "ordered by the Lords and Commons, Her. Elsynge Cler Parl."*

There is a poor woman whom I had *employed* for *intelligence at Portsmouth*, who has come to me to *Holland* out of *England*, to *tell me* that [the] *captains of Essex's army* were consulting as how *he might take you*, and that that was their greatest design; she *had heard them say so*. I thought proper to write you this, though it is a thing you may easily believe without my writing it; nevertheless I cannot refrain, that you may take care lest that happen by some *deceit*. Remember the unfor-

* The form under which the Parliamentary ordinances were published—the quotation is written in English.

tunate.* The season is advancing, this country here is very cold already, although we shall not die either of hunger or cold, as M. de Warwick has said to one of my people. I hope they will open this letter, and will hear what they have no desire to hear, but not what they wish.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{29\text{th September}}{9\text{th October}}$.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 80 b.]

[October, 1642.]

My dear heart,

You may judge by this letter, that I give very little faith to the credence of the Roundheads, for if I did, I should not be alive. They spread a report here, that you are taken, your nephew killed, and your army entirely defeated. The wind has been so contrary, that I have had no tidings since Adrian. I hope your cook has arrived, and Slingsby's brother also, and Adrian May. This will go by the certain mode of an express, therefore I will say no more, except that [I hope] you have before now received all the arms you asked for. I have not heard that they have been intercepted, so that

* Either his servants who were to be included in the pardon, or the Catholics, "les malheureux," the term here employed, was used in the first cipher to denote the Catholics.

I shall send no more; also the money has assuredly passed.

I am preparing for my voyage, and expecting your commands, one way or the other, with great impatience, for irresolution is an insupportable pain. *All the letters which I write by the post, in which there is no cipher, do not you believe, for they are written for the Parliament.*

Adieu, my dear heart.

Send me word whether you received my letter by the last post before this, dated 24th September, new style.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 76.]

My dear heart,

I have received two letters from you, one begun by you, the other quite wrapped up in the first. I am very glad to see that every body is beginning to *deny the advice of an accommodation*. It is a thing *so weak*, and so *hazardous* for you that, *unless they were gained* either by *fear* or by *hope*, I cannot understand how *they could choose to advise you to it*, and I am astonished that *the Parliament has not been willing to listen to [what would have been your r]uin absolutely* if it had done so. It seems as though God willed it not, and that he took care of you; take care not to *let yourself be surprised again in things* so dangerous as that. If they see you well *resolved*, they will not dare to speak of it *any more*. I have

seen a letter that *Capel (?)** wrote to Percy, in which he advises him to go and join *you*, saying that they are well assured that there *will be an accommodation*, for all *those who are near you are only trying to make their own escape, or save themselves, and have no other design than that; each one in his private capacity treats upon that, and cares not either for the Parliament, the State, or you.* This is why *Capel (?)* desires *Percy* to be there, to *have his share also, and make his peace with the others; or else, if he be not there, he will be forgotten.* You may judge as you please thereupon.

It is written from London, that *the Earl of Southampton and Lord Falkland*,† promised *an accommodation.* Take good heed to it; I thought it my duty to warn you of it. As to what you write me about my return to England, if after you have received this letter, you continue [to wish it,] I shall ever be quite ready to set out, but I think it necessary to let you know, that I have received letters from France, in which the king my brother, and the cardinal also, has commanded M. de Peron, to tell me that I should be very welcome, if I would go there. All my friends from thence, persuade me extremely to go, assuring me that there I should be very useful for your

* Or Cottington; the cipher signifies a name beginning with the letter C or D.

† The names are thus deciphered in the MS., but the ciphers are those which signify Culpepper and Falkland. The real agents in proposing the accommodation, were Southampton to the Upper House, and Culpepper to the Lower.

service, and that they have an intention of obliging us if they can be assured that we could be obliged. I ever entertain this good will, for assuredly France, with the power it possesses, may help us much, either to make an accommodation for our honour, or in the other way. Wherefore consider well whether you would wish me to go there or not. You must think in what I could serve you in England or France;—whether Yorkshire is very sure;—whether, in case of necessity, we have a place of retreat;—for, moreover, women cannot follow an army without great inconveniences, even for you. You may be sure too that the rebels will do all they can to prevent me from joining you, and to take me, believing that they will thus make a better bargain with you. If you were to chance to lose a battle, where would the poor women be? If by misfortune, you were taken, I, being abroad, might yet serve you, whilst were I with you, all would be lost. These are reasons you must now think over. As to England, you are on the spot, and can judge better of things than I. That is why I have nothing to do but to obey, as soon as I know your commands. But as to France, MM. de Chavigny, Sancterre, du Peron, and many others, say that I should receive great satisfaction if I went there, and recommend it to me.

For my own part, you may imagine that my inclination leads me for England, but I entreat you not to think of that which will please me most, and in which I shall have most delight; for I can bear much when your service is concerned. Therefore, let no consideration in the world

but that make you take a resolution. Only let me [have] a speedy and direct answer, because the season is advancing, and I do not wish to stay in this country.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{26\text{th September}}{6\text{th October}}$

I have forgotten to tell you that M. du *Peron*, sends me word they will give me entertainment in France, if I receive nothing from England.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 161. Holograph.]

$\frac{1\text{st}}{4\text{th}}$ Oct., 1643.

Cousin,

Captain Dunnings having remained by accident, as he will tell you, behind the ship that I gave him in charge, I have commanded him to follow with his arms. Therefore, I beg you to be pleased to replace him in possession of his ship, and to assist him in his business, and to send him back quickly. He is a very worthy man, and very faithful. I have given Slingsby charge to reply to you upon your propositions by Cooke; therefore, I will say nothing upon that, referring it to him, excepting only that I will do my very utmost to assist you, as also to shew you on all sorts of opportunities the sense that I have of your affection to the service of the king my lord and mine, and how I am, and shall ever be,

Your very good and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

This $\frac{11\text{th September, 1642}}{11\text{th October (sic)}}$.

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 60.]

My dear heart,

I will tell you by this opportunity, that yesterday, St. Michael's day, arrived here, the duke,* who tells me of your constant resolution against all the assaults made upon you. I beg your pardon if I have said anything in my letters a little passionate; it is the affection I have for you, which makes me do it, and my care for your honour. Believe this, my dear heart, for it is the strictest truth; for, were it not for you alone, I swear that I would not live an hour in this world, but would retire from it; and this proceeds not from melancholy, for I can assure you that, never since my arrival in this country, have I been so well satisfied as I now am in knowing your courage and resolution.

I am thought to be against an accommodation. I confess that I am against a dishonourable one, such as they would wish to make you enter into; otherwise, you know that when I believed there could be one without dishonour, I have laboured [as much] as I could for it, as

* The Duke of Richmond, who joined the queen in Holland.

I do at this time, in conjuring you to continue in your constant resolution to die rather than to submit basely.

As to my journey, I am preparing as quickly as possible : and as to money, if the States of Holland had not brought back a ship that I had dispatched a fortnight ago, you would have had one thousand pieces, and ten thousand more to go on with till I came myself. I hope the boat in which are the ten thousand will be with you as soon as this letter, unless some misfortune happen.

I am daily expecting M. du Peron, whom the king my brother sends to me ; he [says] in one of his letters, that he is coming to tell me things which cannot be trusted to writing, so that I have great hopes from that quarter.

I am informed out of London, on very good authority, that a council has been held expressly to consult by what means they may seize on your person. One named Ballart, and [another] have undertaken to do it, saying that you sometimes went out quite alone : therefore, take care about it.

Tell *Ashburnham* (?) that I am quite satisfied with him, and that I confess I have not been so with *Culpepper*, but at this time I am so, provided he will have as much courage in his affairs, as he has in his person. I do not write to them, having much business at this time for your service.

Although the report of the accommodation had not prevented you from proceeding as before, yet the truth must be told, that it had caused people not to be by any means so diligent. As the wind is favourable, I will not

stay to write more, postponing to another time a more punctual reply to your letters. Tell secretary Nicholas that if I have not written to him for a long time, it has only been for want of time, and not want of good opinion. He has two marks upon him that I shall never forget, the one that he is a good servant of the king, the other that he is a delinquent by ordinance of Parliament. "I'll go pray for the man of sin that has married the popish brat of France, as the preacher said in London."* I venture this letter without ciphers, for I think the route by which it goes very safe.

This 11th October.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 39.]

This letter, and several succeeding ones, in which no cipher occurs, shews the tone in which the queen wished her enemies to see that she wrote, and truly it was not calculated to lessen the breach between them. This letter displays much finesse. The message she sends to Pym was a *ruse* to bring him into suspicion with his party, following out the device adopted in the construction of the first cipher. The queen speaks of landing at Boston or Yarmouth, whereas her real intention was to choose some northern port, Newcastle or Scarborough.

She succeeded in deceiving the Parliamentarians on this important point, and a meeting was actually held at Yarmouth, to discuss the mode of her reception, in case of her landing. The mayor observed, that as she was only a subject like themselves, they need not trouble themselves much about her, but the

* The words in quotation are written in English.

Parliamentary vessels were ordered to be on the alert in watching the coast, and to fire upon her without ceremony.*

My dear heart,

I expected to send you an express, to reply to the letters that I received by the duke, but as the wind has just changed, I have not been able. If Dunnings has passed, as I hope, you will have received one by him on this subject. I am awaiting tidings from you with great impatience. As to my setting out, I am preparing for it as quickly as I can, either for one coast or the other. All *that follows is on purpose in case this letter should be opened.*

You must tell me, if you please, whether in case it be not at Yarmouth, it shall be at Boston, one of the two, assuredly; therefore, give orders. I dread the sea so much, that the very thought of it frightens me, not on account of the fleet of the rebels; though that is a beast that I hate, but I fear it not.

I am very glad you have shown your people that you have always desired an accommodation, but since the factious men in the Parliament have answered you with so much insolence, after you sent with such gentleness, I doubt not but your courage and resolution will prevail over their rashness and rebellion; and, although I have always much wished an accommodation, yet, seeing their insolence, I am satisfied that it has not depended on you, and that you should pursue your plans with firmness.

* Brief relation of the queen's landing, 4to Lond. 1642.

God will help you, your cause being so just. He never was a protector of rebellion. You have acted the part of a good and just king in desiring the paths of mildness, which being those of justice, you were bound to follow. Protect your servants ; that will acquire you others, and punish those who offend you, the Parliament has set you the example of it, but theirs is left-handed and ours right.

I received yesterday a letter from Pym, by which he sends me word that he fears I am offended with him, because he has not had a letter from me for a long time. I beg you tell him that that is not the case, and that I am as much his friend as ever, but I have so much business, that I have not been able to write by expresses, and by the post it is not safe. Remember me also to Prince Rupert, and tell him from me, that he must not hazard himself, as I understand he does. Remember me to Charles, James, and Prince Maurice, and believe truly, my dear heart, that had I not already loved you as much as I do, the courage you have shown against all the accidents which have happened, would make me do it, and will make me live and die.

Entirely yours.

This $\frac{6\text{th}}{16\text{th}}$ October.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 37.]

My dear heart,

Smith* has arrived to-day, and has brought me the relation of what has passed with the rebels. I am hoping every day to hear of their having been treated as they deserve.

I am preparing to set out, and hope to leave by All Saints' Day, according to the style of England. As to what you write me about stopping *the ships of the States* when *I am arrived at Newcastle*, till I receive tidings from *you*, that will be difficult enough; still *I will try it*. Also as to *the men* whom *I* was thinking of bringing with me, *I shall not do it*, not being sure of *them*. They are all *so much for the Parliament*, that *no trust could be placed in them*, so that *I shall not bring any of them*. As to *money*, *I have finished*, though with no small trouble, the affair with *Saintybar*, so that *you* will now receive twenty thousand pieces, of which he says that *you* have already received six thousand, which he has deducted from the twenty. Let me know if that be true. I am preparing arms to bring with me, that I may go and join you by force, if I cannot by good will, and I hope that my Lord Newcastle and I will do something good, in spite of the season, which is advancing; this is why we must make haste.

* This Smith was intercepted on his return to England, and imprisoned at Yarmouth, for presuming to carry letters between the king and queen. Perfect Annual, Nov. 7.

I continue in the same courage which you have—assuredly you are at this time to render yourself master of your enemies, unless you submit voluntarily, and take counsel of persons who would only wish to see you live peaceably merely, but not with the glory which you may have. If you carry on your affairs well, which I will not doubt, you will regain all that you lose. You could not believe how your constant resolutions have already changed the opinion which was entertained of you. Finish well, and you will be esteemed by everybody.

Take care to let me know the events of the battle which you say will be fought before I arrive, that I may regulate myself according to your orders, which is very necessary.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{27^{\text{th}}}{17^{\text{th}}}$ October.

To the king, my lord.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 160. Holograph.]

Cousin,

Having written to you yesterday, these few words are sufficient to tell you that I beg you not to make any promise in the army that you are raising, for the place of master of the artillery, for I have it in my thoughts to propose you one whom I think very fit for it, and with whom you will be satisfied. I have written to the king to hasten your commission, and have begged him to give

it you in very ample form. I am making what haste I can to join you, and I hope to do it so soon, that I will say no more on this occasion, than that I am,

Your very good and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

This $\frac{11\text{th}}{21\text{st}}$ October, [1642].

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To Cardinal Richelieu.

[Aubrey, *Memoires de Richelieu*, vol. v. p. 369.]

In her early married life, Henrietta Maria, influenced by the representations of Mdle. de Chevreuse, entertained a strong aversion to Cardinal Richelieu, whom she regarded as the enemy and oppressor of her mother. Estrades, in his negotiations, on his mission to England in 1637, gives a pleasant account of his endeavours, at the instigation of Richelieu, to remove this prejudice from the queen's mind. He offered explanations. She answered, she wished for none — she knew beyond doubt that the cardinal was no friend of hers, and turned the conversation upon Estrades' political commissions, which related to obtaining the neutrality of the English king, in case of an attack made by France on certain sea-ports in Flanders. The queen said that she meddled little in affairs of that nature, but that, to please her brother, she would speak to the king about it.*

The overtures of agreement thus rejected, widened the breach, but the time came when, in her hour of danger, Henrietta was but too glad to conciliate the powerful minister whose influence was all important to her.

* Estrades' Negotiations, vol. i. pp. 1—8.

Cousin,

I have received by the bishop of Angoulême* so great assurances of your affection, that I may consider the friendship, which I hope to establish with you, well advanced, in which I am so confirmed by reason, which answers to my inclination, that I was unwilling to delay letting you know my true opinion of the affection which you promise me, and that which I am resolved to show you all my life. I may take it as a good omen, that at the very time you have taken part in my troubles, our affairs have changed their appearance, for it appears by the success of his arms, and the present disposition of his people, that God visibly protects the cause of the king my husband, which gives me great hope of being able soon to return into England, with sure advantage for our affairs. I wait for news from the king to resolve upon it : as soon as I receive them, I shall not fail to send off an express to the king my brother, to tell him what the affairs of the king my husband will induce me to do, being assured that he will approve what will most contribute to their success.

I know so well how much I am indebted to you for the honours I have received from the king my brother, that being assured of your affection, I need not doubt your prudence in approving all the pains to which I may expose myself for the evident good of our affairs. I shall

* The queen's almoner, sent by her to Paris to manage her affairs there.

try to have your advice before resolving on anything, and then I shall believe that God will assist me, according to the justice of my intentions. Meanwhile, I entreat you, by your good offices, to keep up the friendly feeling of the king my brother, assuring you that whatever resolution I may take, that of preserving your friendship will be one of my principal cares. I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

The Hague, 27th October.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The queen thought it advisable to worship the rising as well as the setting sun, and thus paid her court to the newly-created Cardinal Mazarin, who was so soon to succeed his master Richelieu at the French court.

Cousin,

I have understood from M. Montagu, the care you take of obliging me more and more, which makes me assure you anew of the affection I have promised you, and to beg you to be pleased to continue me yours; being resolved, upon what he has made me hope of assistance from the king my brother, to return into England. I send him back to explain the reasons of it more at length: wherefore, referring you to him, I will say no more, except that I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 68 b.]

My dear heart,

This bearer having long had a wish to come to you to serve you, and having retained it to this time, I though it fitting now to let him go to inform you of the state of our affairs here, and how I am ready to start. He is so well informed, having had many things to do himself, that I will refer to him, and tell you that you may give credence to what he will say to you, for he is very faithful. I have charged him also to see in what state they are at Newcastle, in reference to my coming, and I only await his reply to set out ; I hope you will do him the honour to speak to him, and trust in him as you did, in order to render him capable of serving you, and informing me. I will also tell him in whom he may trust. Were I not assured of his fidelity, I would not recommend him to you as I do. It is with great impatience I await my setting out, and also tidings from you, having had none for three weeks. I will say no more, except that I am,

Absolutely yours.

This 23rd October
3rd November.

You will give this bearer our old cipher ; if you have it not, *Digby* has it.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 58 b.]

This letter probably fell into the hands of the king, when he was immersed in business, soon after the battle of Edge-hill, as the ciphers are not explained in the MS.

My dear heart,

You will hear more fully what is passing here by *Percy*, whom I have sent express, that he may tell it you better than can be done by letter. In one or two of your letters, you wrote to *me* that I should not trust *Percy* in many things. I have not done it, in order to obey your commands, for truly I think him very faithful, and that we may trust him. It is true that *he has his weak points*, but everybody in the world has them in one way or another. You will believe all he tells you of your affairs here, as I have informed him very well; and, if he do not arrive before this letter, you must not appear to know of his coming, lest he should be arrested on the road. You will have nothing to do with giving him a cipher. I have given him one.

I have no patience to see so good a wind, and yet not to set off; but you will know the reason that prevents me by *Percy*, who shall henceforward be called 000,* for his name was forgotten in our cipher. There are things which *Percy** knows not, which I postpone telling you till my return, as they are not pressing at this time, and yet which will be very good when you know them.

* Expressed by the cipher, 000.

Adieu, my dear heart ; I expect either my life [or] death by the first tidings I shall receive from you, for if it happen that I could not come to you, it would be my death, since I can live no longer without seeing you. Believe this, for it is very true.

This 25th October
5th November.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 38.]

My dear heart,

I have written to you so lately by Percy and Dorrell, that, but for the arrival of Stradlin, I should not have sent you a dispatch till my setting out, which I assure you is only retarded by the States, who are not unreasonably diligent, for I cannot persuade them that I wish to go away. I know not whether this be out of friendship for me, or for Mr. Strickland, et cætera. I will therefore say nothing about my voyage by this opportunity, having done so by Percy, only that I shall make haste to set off as soon as possible : and, as to *my* journey into *France*, it is a thing which I can assure you is as much against *my* heart as it can be against *yours*, and that what I wrote you was only from urgent necessity. As to what you write me, that you have never been advised about my remaining in a safe place, I believe it, and what I wrote you about it was on some discourse which I had heard was held here by some person, and which made me fear it also, in case of you being at a distance, if the

Earl of Newcastle had not had an army to conduct me, which will I hope be very considerable, and under very good officers.

I have already sent you word by the post, that I have finished the affair of the *twenty thousand pieces with Saintybar*. I send you a letter for *Duke d' Espernon*.^{*} When you send [it] him, the money will be delivered to him who carries it to him. But *Saintybar* says, that you have already received six thousand of it, which must be deducted, so that now you will only receive fourteen thousand, and six thousand that you received before, makes the twenty thousand. Believe that we are not lazy here, and that it is with no small trouble that we labour. When you know the particulars, you will see that there are persons here who are *Royalists* entirely, and not by halves, and that as to the thirty thousand pieces which *Pim*† sends me word have been promised a long time ago, and not sent, you will also be shown how they have been employed most usefully for your service. I hope myself to render you a good account of them, as of all my actions, and I may, without vanity, say that I have served you perhaps more than I boast of, and more than those who do not know all, and cannot know it, except by word of mouth, would believe. I hope God will bless our pains; it is the only reward I ask for them, and that

^{*} The cipher 269, which means *rebels*, here occurs in the original, but it seems superfluous.

† A *ruse* to involve the Parliamentary leader, Pym, in suspicion, if the letters were intercepted,

you will always love me. Beyond hat I wish for nothing more, except that you believe me as I am,
 Absolutely yours.

This $\frac{29\text{th October}}{9\text{th November}}$.

Porin, the son, wanted to come to you, but I have stayed him for our Newcastle army. This letter marked 112 from 107,* is that which is to be given to *Monsieur d'Espernon* for the money.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 1.]

The two following letters remonstrate strongly against the protestation made by Charles I. at the head of his forces, in which he promised inviolably to observe the laws to which he had given his consent, as passed in the last Parliament.

Decipher this letter yourself.

My dear heart,

As this bearer is going by way of London, a letter will not be very safe, which is the reason I have told him by word of mouth what I had to inform you of; only there is one thing which I cannot refrain from saying to you, which is about *the oaths you have taken and have made the lords take*; which, as it seems to me, are much to your disadvantage on many accounts, for you promise to keep all that you have passed this Parliament.

* A cipher for some name beginning with B or C.

Consider *everything* well ; but it is *a thing done*. When I shall be with you, I can make you see it more *clearly* : only be very careful in *future* as to what you do. It is not that I would *do* [ill offices] to anybody, but I *fear* that there are those about you who, at the *bottom of their hearts* are not *well inclined* to *royalty*. I make no doubt but they would labour to *extricate* you from the *extremities* in which you are at present, for they are *entangled* therein *themselves*, but as to *believing* that they would wish to see you *absolute*, their *counsels* visibly show the *contrary*. You should, however, use them for the present, but it is not [needless] for you to *take good care*. I confess that if I had been with you, the *oath* [would not have been taken, and yet you should have taken one which would have satisfied]* the *people*. I am not alone in this opinion ; there are those of your good servants, who greatly regret *not having been with you at that time*.

I hope you fully believe that what I say to you is only to serve you ; for I protest there is nothing in the world in it but that, and that all this comes from myself, and that at this moment no one in the world knows that I am writing this to you. Therefore, I beg you keep it to yourself, and believe me,

Entirely yours.

This $\frac{2\text{nd}}{12\text{th}}$ November.

* Something omitted, see next letter.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 55.]

Decipher this letter yourself.

My dear heart,

Although I wrote you yesterday evening by Cornwallis, as long as I stay here I will not let slip a single opportunity of writing to you. I have written you something by him which I will repeat here, in case he were taken, which is, to beg you to be a little more *careful of the oaths you take*, for the two last that you have sent me are much to your *disadvantage*, for you *promise to keep all that you have passed this Parliament*, which I confess, had I been with you, I should not have *suffered* it, and yet I will venture to say that *you would have taken one which would have satisfied all the people*. I fear that *there are persons about you, who, at the bottom of their hearts, are not well disposed for royalty*. I make no doubt but they will labour to *extricate you from the extremities in which you are*, for they are *involved themselves*, but as to *believing that they wish you to be absolute*, their counsels plainly shew the contrary. *They must be made use of notwithstanding*, but it is not amiss for you to *beware of them*. It is not I alone who am of *that opinion*. There are some of your good servants here who *are very sorry they were not near you at the time*. I assure you that your service makes me say this, and no intention of *doing ill offices to any one*. Believe it my dear heart, and do not say anything to any one about this, for no one knows that I have written you this.

^{3rd}
13th November, 1642.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 20 b.]

The queen was now preparing for her homeward journey, which it required some spirit to undertake, as she was in constant danger of being intercepted by those very Parliamentary vessels which had so repeatedly seized her convoys of arms, &c. But personal danger was the last thing from which she ever shrunk. Jermyn succeeded in obtaining from the Prince of Orange officers and troops, who were placed under the command of Colonel Goring, with the intention to dispatch them, if possible, before the queen, to join the Earl of Newcastle. This point was accomplished ultimately, but at this crisis the earl had been attacked at York, and driven back to Durham, by Captain Hotham, the son of Sir John Hotham, of Hull notoriety.*

My dear heart,

As I was ready to set out, and had fixed the day, the wind changed, which has made me change my resolution. I have received letters from the *Earl of Newcastle*, by which he begs me not to come yet, for he is constrained to march into *Yorkshire*. *Hotham* is playing the devil. So that *I shall wait the issue* of his march, of which, in a week, I hope to hear tidings. If they are good, *I shall set out*; if not, I must take fresh resolutions, for I confess that *I have no desire to go to France if I can [help it]*, and *I shall do my utmost to go to England*.

As I was writing this letter, I have been advertised that *the Scots have bought arms for ten thousand men*, to be delivered in *Scotland* on the 1st of *February*.

* Special Passages, Dec. 8th, 1642.

I have received by Ines your letter, which came by Newcastle, being the same thing with that sent by Progers. I will say nothing except on one point, about Sir Edmund Verney's place*; that you have no need to make excuses that you gave it without telling me of it, for I shall always think all you do right, provided that you always love me, and that my distance and the smallness of the service I render you do not take away your affection, which is the only thing in this world in which I take delight, and but for that, I should long ago have been no longer in it. Wherefore I conjure you to write to me oftener, for in six weeks I have only received two letters from you, and to be convinced that I have affection, and wish to serve you, though but little capacity; but small though it be, I have not spared it.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This $\frac{20\text{th November}}{1\text{st December}}$, [1642].

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 49 b.]

My dear heart,

This letter is merely that I may lose no opportunity, for *I wrote to you this morning by one of my lackeys whom I sent you express*. I have sent a good *recruit of men to Lord Newcastle, Colonel Goring* with fifteen

* That of Knight Marshall. Sir Edmund Verney fell at the battle of Edgehill, and Sir Edward Sydenham was appointed in his place.

officers, and many *common soldiers*. I assure you I lose no time, whilst I am awaiting my departure, which I pray God may be very soon; for this country is too trying to the patience of persons who, like me, scarcely have any. They have here made you dead, and Charles a prisoner; although I see your letters, you may imagine this pleases me not. As to Prince Rupert, there are men here who have seen and touched his dead body, and that of Prince Maurice. For battles, there is not a day in the week in which you do not lose one. Such are the pastimes of this country and their tidings.

I need the air of England, or at least that in which you are to cure me of a very severe cold I have got. I am quite ready to set off, and only await tidings that York is not taken, as is reported here; and after that, I hope soon to tell you many things which cannot be written.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This 28th November,
8th December

I beg you to give the enclosed letter to *Percy*.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 100.]

The weary queen was sometimes obliged to use another pen, probably that of Jermyn, to convey her sentiments, when the multiplicity of business, and the intricacies of ciphers pressed upon her more than usual. In such cases, the same cipher was used, but the letters were written in English. The only license here taken with them, is that of substituting the personal pronouns, instead of the words, "the king, the queen, &c.," where those are expressed

in the original by ciphers ; reading them in fact, as they would have been written, had no cipher been used ; although, in the interlined decipherings, the same mode has not been adopted. The earlier part of the following letter has not been found. The proximate date of this fragment appears from a statement in a contemporaneous newspaper of November 28,* that intercepted letters from the Duke of Richmond and others to Secretary Nicholas make mention of a Danish ambassador coming into England, who was to be carefully treated, and of arms and artillery expected from Denmark.

The Denmark treaty not to be registered upon that peremptory ground of not receiving strangers. The resolution now taken cannot produce anything till March next, by which time, either the necessity will be evident, and too late then to be desired ; or, in the meantime, they are easily dismissed, if a peace intervene. The Danish ambassador should be treated with great civility, and care taken not to be practised upon by the Parliament party. The loan of ships would be demanded as absolutely necessary, more probably and with less difficulty to be obtained from that state, than either arms or men.

A provision of arms to be made for your party of Scotland ; Will. Murray to be consulted with concerning the time and necessity of that provision concerning putting Berwick into their hands, if the other party begin to arm first. The Denmark fleet, to be upon the coast by the 10th of March, may be of great advantage in blocking up [the] Humber ; of certain, keeping open and free the ports for your relief for ammunition, and of security to

* Special Passages, 1642.

my person. In any danger from Scotland, a peace to be concluded with the Irish, as in all considerations most able to supply you with men armed proper for your service, than by any other means can be expected; and in regard of their affections, more to be depended upon, being treated with upon those generals of enjoying their estates and liberties, and religion, as in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The Earls of Ormond and Clanricarde, are the fittest instruments in that affair. Having heard by the return of Henderson, that the king of Denmark hath not been well informed of the justice of your proceedings, I therefore recommend to you the care of satisfying the King of Denmark's ambassador therein very particularly.

What is effaced was done by me, because it was not in cipher.*

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 67.]

My dear heart,

As soon as General King arrived, I told him, as you ordered me, that he was to go and join you; I had destined him lieutenant-general for our quarter, but I think that you will have more business with him than me. He is a person whom there is no need to recommend to you; you know him sufficiently; only I will tell you that I had found him so disposed and ready to serve you that I am obliged to mention it to you, and also that I hope that

* French written by the queen.

you will not employ him under any one whom he might command; for he has testified to me that whoever submits to serve under my lord Newcastle has simply to obey, and also that he has a particular esteem for my lord Newcastle. I hope, by good tidings from London, to be soon at Newcastle, and if the roads are not very difficult, to be with you soon after. I will say no more, believing that this letter will be a little long in going, if it go at all, for I have given my lord Newcastle the choice of retaining the bearer.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This 18th
28th December.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. p. 33 b.]

The following fragment commences in the MS. towards the close of the page, forming in appearance part of another letter, in a different cipher, and of much later date. It is evident that the copyist took what seemed to be another sheet of the same letter, but was in reality part of one entirely different. This is in English, except the concluding paragraph, which was written by the queen.

the business of Amboyna being again *delayed*, so that probably it will *not be ended* before *I go from Holland*, it will be necessary to have a *power under the great seal sent to Boswell, to conclude it according to the agreements specified in the acts of amnesty and ratification already sent hither, and further order and command to Boswell to obey my directions absolutely in it, both for the conclusion*

of the business, and for the disposing of the money, and this command to be absolute, notwithstanding any orders formerly given to the contrary; and this to be considered, whether this order ought to be under the great seal or no. The reason of this second desire is, that there is assigned to merchants by you out of this money, fifty thousand pounds, and an order to Boswell to pay them, which he being punctual in, it will be needful that the countermand be very powerful, or you will be frustrated of this present use of this money.

*You are entreated to be mindful of the manner of the proceedings of the King of Denmark towards you, and in consideration thereof, to be very careful in any treaty that may be afoot, wherein he may expect to have his advice and opinion consulted, that nothing of any such nature be proceeded in that may give him offence; but that his advice and opinions may be timely asked, and also to be careful in all things that may in any way relate to the King of Denmark, to correspond with that kindness he hath in the occasions now in question advanced to you * * * you, with the three thousand muskets, two thousand barrels of powder, one thousand two hundred pikes, and some swords last demanded, and hath taken order here for the re-supplying of Northum[berland]. 'Tis very needful that there be care taken in the sending these things desired, that there be no time lost in it, and the surest ways of conveying them safe used that may be.*

* A passage evidently omitted.

My dear heart, I pray you to excuse me if I do not write with my own hand ; I have such a severe headache, that I cannot see a bit : I am afraid that you will think *I* have plenty of leisure to write so much in cipher, but I think that this deserves to be put into cipher.

This ^{19th}
29th December.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 12 b.]

My dear heart,

I received your letter by this same post, before the arrival of Smith. I will say in reply to them that two good spirits meet each other, for I had already done all you command concerning *France*, and am expecting *the reply* every day. *As to the arms which you have asked for by Smith, [they] will be brought with me to Newcastle. As to those which are to be bought in France, I will order Foster to bring them ; so that you must give orders for money to be given to him. I am surprised that you have not asked arms from the King of Denmark, seeing that you have so much need of them. The Denmark ambassador has been in Holland with me, and told me that the King of Denmark would assist you in everything that you might desire, but he did not tell me particulars ; neither have you written me about any party, which makes me apprehend that you have only been upon generals, and*

that nothing particular *has been decided upon*.^{*} You should not *lose time* in that *quarter*; for as to me, I *can no longer furnish any more*; all my *jewels being pledged*. Wherefore, *if you have not already done so, send at once into Denmark, to ask for arms to transport to Newcastle [&] Scot[land] for they have sent to me to ask for them, and certainly they have need of them, and Newcastle would be the fittest place to keep them till they are wanted; and certainly you can be more assisted by Denmark, for Scotland and Yorkshire, than by France. Think also about Ireland.*

They have sent here to Strickland the copy of my letter which the Parliament has taken, in which I complained a little of the States; but it was not as much as I had said to themselves. I hope that that will not hinder my having my ships, for there are some come already.† Adieu my dear heart, I am going to take my supper, and as it has cost money I must not let it be spoiled.

29th December
8th January

^{*} The king in his reply, dated 23rd January, assures the queen that he has not contented himself with generals, and will lose no time in that business.—King's Cabinet Opened.

† A report ran the circle of the Parliamentary papers that the queen's journey was postponed, owing to a check given to the royalist forces, by which the king was prevented from marching to London, and that the States had taken the opportunity of the delay to have the queen's stores of arms and ammunition unladen. As her letters contain no complaints of such treatment, the rumours were probably unfounded.

Postscript.—Tell *Culpepper* and *Ashburnham* (?) that I am so weary with writing, added to the embarrassment of my departure, that I cannot write to them, but in this letter there is the reply to their letter, and say that I am well satisfied with them.

To Charles I.

[*Ibid.* fol. 86.]

The probabilities of aid from France to the royal cause were variously estimated, according to the inclination of the writers. On the one side, it was said that the French king would return to Charles I. three regiments of troops which he had lent to him, and would add to them all he could spare from Flanders, Artois, Normandy, and St. Malo. The other party averred that the King of France could not believe that the Parliament really meant anything disrespectful to the king, but only wished to remove his evil counsellors, and that he would therefore stand aloof from the quarrel.* The queen's statement is the best authority on the subject.

My dear heart,

I have received in the same day three of your letters, one dated the 22nd December, the others the 25th and 28th: in one of which, you write me word about the accident which happened to my letter *which was in the bag*.† I am very sorry for it, since there were many things in it, though I cannot remember now what they were. I have used all the diligence that you could desire in

* Newspapers, Dec. 1642.

† Some intercepted letters, probably.

France, and I am expecting *Wat. Montague* every day, but he *gives* very *little hope* of *France*. I had written you already by the post before last, how I had according to your orders, *sent into France for arms* as you had commanded me; therefore, you must be careful to send *the money to Foster*, and the order as to where *he shall have them transported*, for it is he who has the care of them. As to my voyage, you have no need to encourage me in it, for I am impatient enough to set out; *it is only the wind* which *hinders my setting out*. I hope that *I shall so soon be with you*, that *I will postpone replying to your letters till I can do it by word of mouth*: only I entreat you tell 189* that all he commands shall be done. Touching the p[rivate] *treaty*, I should be very glad to know particulars; wherefore I beg you to send me them *to Newcastle*, for it is necessary for your service that I should know them. I have nothing more to say, and I hope that *this letter will be the last that you will have from me from Holland*. Adieu, my dear heart: if this letter be taken, they will have some work to decipher it.

This $\frac{9^{\text{th}}}{19^{\text{th}}}$ January.

Tell *Culpepper* that I do not write to him, but that he may be sure of me, and *Ashburnham* (?) also.

* The cipher used for the king, put in this form as a blind.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 11 b.]

This is another instance of an English letter written at the queen's dictation, principally in cipher. The last short paragraph was written by her, and is in French.

Hague, this style, 1643.

Ines arrived here but yesterday, and that letter mentioned in yours, of the 11th of January, by Skipwith, I have not received. I have not missed writing one week, and for the most part twice every week.

I am glad of that you write of *Ireland*, believing *nothing more necessary and essential* to the support of your affairs, than the peace of that kingdom, and do therefore believe it is to be laid hold on by all means possible, and even those now that may be at another time, were not so counselable, and in this there ought no minute of time to be lost; for unless it be presently had, the utilities of it will be lost, as well those that you may receive from thence for the continuing of the war of *England*, as those you would find from it, in case your affairs grow into the consideration of an accommodation. You are to be mindful to secure to yourself by all the means you can, those succours, whether of men, money, or arms, that you look for from *Denmark*, as that which infinitely importeth.

I have my health, God be thanked, perfectly well, and have never had any of that lameness, nor anything

towards it hath been reported to you.* The same day Ines came, I received four of yours, his of the 10th January, another of the 11th, and two more of the 18th. I hear of *some places disposed of and others pressed for* : such as are yet *vacant*, I shall entreat you to suspend your resolutions in till I shall be with you : the disposing of them is always of moment, but more considerable now than ever, and therefore ought not to be determined of but with great deliberation.

I have not written this myself; I hope that you will pardon it.

January 30th, 1643.

One of the most provoking of the minor vexations to which the queen was doomed, was the publication of letters said to be hers, and intercepted, which in their magniloquent dulness, are amusing contrasts to the vigour of her real style. The subjoined is a specimen. It was published in a fugitive sheet in London, Feb. 1643, as "the queen's letter, sent to the King's Most excellent Majesty, from Holland."†

Most royal and illustrious monarch of Great Britain, my great, my good, and worthy liege, the most regal object of my loving heart, best affections, and utmost endeavours.

Be pleased to let this paper, in all humility, to salute your princely hands, and to give your princely cogitations

* The king, in one of his letters, speaks of the "scurvy London news, of thy stay and lameness, which though I do not believe, yet it vexes me so much the more that I could not prove them liars."

† King's Pamphlet, 1642-3. Vol. 95.

some account of my endeavours, (as I am bound in duty and as I am your spouse and loyal wife,) for your majesty, in my absence; my love having now no other ways left of expression, but by being your humble and faithful agent, in accomplishing and promoting your high affairs; wherein if my words, the pledges and earnest solicitors for the improvement of your present fame and glory, may carry in them any strength of persuasion, I would earnestly incite your princely thoughts to a remembrance of your majesty's resolution, to carry forward your designs until they grow to a famous maturity and ripeness; maintain and continue your cause, in the hardy prosecution of your affairs, without any mitigation, unless an honourable satisfaction may make you disbandon and raise your former intentions.

Now you have a large field given you, wherein the illustrious virtues inherent in your royal person may be actually expressed, and give the whole Christian world, which are now spectators, and the eye of all Christendom upon your person, a clear approbation and testimony that your majesty merits that noble attribute annexed to your royal title, 'Defender of the faith;' for, by such like actions as these, princes live when they have paid their debt to nature, and will be their own monument, which shall be everlasting, and more durable than that of marble. Be therefore constant in your princely resolutions, full of your own cause, and your majesty shall never want external accommodations and foreign compliances, which by my earnest endeavours and sollicita-

tions, have of late been somewhat advanced, having obtained a list from our brother the Prince of Orange, from whence, as the special merit did distinguish them in worth, I have selected out of that number some choice, well experienced, and serviceable soldiers, such as shall be forward with courageous affections to maintain your princely affairs, and to amplify your renown and glory in the engagement of present actions ; and out of these deserving men, I have chosen stout commanders, who will be always ready to do your majesty service in your army ; and that I might further supply and serve your present occasions, I have caused four hundred barrels of powder, and ten pieces of ordnance, to be conveyed to your majesty, besides good store of all other ammunition, necessary upon all warlike occasions.

The compliance of our noble brother, the Prince of Orange, is so settled in a firm complexion, sympathising and affectionately agreeing with the present condition of affairs, that he hath, by many demonstrations, given testimony thereof ; and by raising divers sums of money, for my use, hath endeavoured to shew the inclination of his particular affections. Amongst other accommodations, lest your majesty should be any way necessitated, I am to certify your majesty, that the jewels of your crown are, for present receipts, engaged to some certain Jews of Amsterdam ; moreover, I am to give your highness cause to esteem the cheerful undertakings, and forward alacrity of our brother, the Prince of Orange ; who will with all careful vigilance, be ready to take all oppor-

tunities for your majesty's advantage, and will with clear intentions, wherein you may repose trust, be ready to express himself in all Christian offices.

My acknowledgment of Prince Rupert's valiant courage and love, expressed in personal actions, and those adhering to your majesty, being arrived to my knowledge, by a letter lately sent to Mr. Jermyn, must needs deserve my approbation, and highest commendation, since his worth and noble actions are of such transcendent expression of princely merit. Amongst the other endeavours of my affectionate desires, the States have been earnestly solicited for their aid and assistance, which as yet cannot be induced upon them to grant, nor can I, by any persuasion, obtain the effect of my urgent motion; though I hope my letters sent unto my brother, the French king, shall infuse a royal flame into his breast, and make him, through accompanable fulness of your highness' cause, give such aid unto your majesty as may express him royal in his thoughts, and tender of his regal relation unto your highness; but if my letter should be so unhappy as not fully to inflame and instigate his mind, to awake his power in your aid and defence, I cannot nor will not see your actions, brought on with so much expectation, any way disanimated; but since the age's hopes must be the production and business of your weighty affairs, my personal solicitation shall, at my going into France, induce and incline my most Christian brother to appear in promoting and assisting your majesty's cause and actions, which are so full of honourable justice; though

absent, still we be resident in your princely heart, and believe my affections and endeavours are ever ready to serve your majesty.

Sir, I am, and always shall be, your most dutiful wife and liege woman,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 62.]

In Miss Strickland's *Life of Henrietta Maria*, is an interesting account, taken from Madame de Motteville's *Memoirs*, of the perilous voyage of the queen, in her vain attempt to reach the shores of England, from which she was driven back by the fury of the weather. Madame de Motteville wrote the circumstances as related to her by the queen years afterwards, when the sense of the vividness of danger being passed, she had leisure to recall the amusing parts of her adventure. The following letter, written at the time, refers to it only under a serious aspect.

My dear heart,

As soon as I am returned to the Hague, I am anxious to let you know of it, believing you will be in trouble on my account, because of the terrible storm there has been, which by God's grace we have escaped; after having been nine days at sea, in constant danger of perishing, we were at last compelled to return to Holland, whence I hope to set out again as soon as the wind is good, although a storm of nine days is a very frightful thing: nevertheless, when your service is concerned, nothing frightens me. I was but twenty hours distant

from Newcastle, when we were obliged to return. God be praised that he has still spared me to serve you, but I confess that I never expected to see you again. The only regret I felt about dying was that this accident might encourage your enemies, and discourage your friends, and this consideration I confess troubled me; for, but for your sake, life is not a thing of which I fear the loss. I am so stupified that I cannot easily write more, for I have not slept during nine nights.

Adieu, my dear heart.

This 27th $\frac{\text{January}}{\text{February}}$.

The interval of her detention in Holland, was profitably occupied by the queen in increasing her stores of ammunition, and also in negotiating with the great merchant, Webster of Amsterdam, the exchange into specie of certain sums advanced by the King of Denmark. Her little squadron was soon refitted for the voyage, and she waited impatiently for the opportunity of prosecuting it.*

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 15 b.]

My dear heart,

This bearer will tell you that it is not my fault that I am not in England; for he left me on the sea-coast, waiting our ships, which a misfortune has prevented from coming to-day to this place where I am. He will tell you what it is. I hope they will come to-morrow, and I

* Letter from Rotterdam, Feb. 1643.

shall embark immediately, God willing. I shall pass the time ill enough between now and their coming; when you shall know the reason, you will be able to believe it, and also that I have no small desire to be with you; for, in addition to the tempest I have already encountered, they do nothing but preach to me on the dangers I am incurring, and a strange conjuncture of planets which will happen when I am at sea, which has never taken place since the birth of our Lord. I say to all this, like the almanac, "God is above all." He has already saved me from a great danger; I hope that he will not abandon me, if others should arise, since the purpose of my voyage is for a cause so just as yours.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Scheveling, 13th February.

To the king, my lord.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 78.]

In the preceding letter, the queen alludes to some circumstances which rendered her detention at Scheveling most disagreeable to herself. The newspapers report that "out of Holland it is certified that the Queen of England is very much discontented, and hath not been abroad for many weeks, because the people there utter many gross speeches of her; and that the preachers there say openly in their pulpits that the Prince of Orange's meaning was, by matching his son to the King of England's daughter, to make himself king of Holland; but that they had rather have the Spaniard, their old master, command over them than he; whereupon the prince hath surrendered up his election of com-

manders and officers in the army to the States, which in much affection and respect they had heretofore conferred on him.”*

They also add that she had been ill ever since her terrible voyage. Another source of vexation was the stoppage of one of her vessels by the Hollanders, on some trifling pretext. The queen had been compelled by policy to endure, with as much patience as she could muster, sundry annoyances inflicted upon her by the democratic Dutchmen; but, before finally leaving them, she could not resist the temptation of giving vent to her spleen in the following high-spirited protestation.

“The Queen of Great Britain, through the intention that she hath had to preserve the amity between the King and the Lords States, having omitted to take notice of many indignities by which she hath here been provoked, she doth find herself at present so highly offended, that she cannot any longer (with the honour of the king) abstain from making this complaint, which she doth make to the Lords the States, upon the order which hath been given to search and arrest a vessel which she hath freighted and laden with divers goods belonging to her, for which the Lords States granted her a passport; the queen doth make no difficulty to avouch the transporting of ammunition, as far as it is absolutely necessary for her safeguard; she hath chosen to furnish herself this way, rather than by that of asking for a license, because of an order made by the States to hinder the transporting of arms and ammunition for the King, or for the Parliament; which order the King hath had great reason to think very partial for the Parliament, parallelling *them* with *him*; but the not observing this order hath been more offensive to him, especially since the above-said Parliament have caused much ammunition to be transported over, and have bought vessels, to employ them against the king.

If the queen hath not demanded a license for the things that she had need of, it was not to put the States to so much trouble, nor to

* Memorable accidents. 16th January.

deviate from their order, nor justly to offend the king, but rather that all the endeavours of the queen, and the precautions to preserve the good correspondence between the king and the Lords States, which is established by so many treaties, hath produced nothing but a continuation of affronts and prejudice to the king's service, she is bound to make this declaration :—

That she doth receive this order, given for the arresting of her ships, as a notable injustice and indignity, which she is obliged to be sensible of in a high degree.

Wherefore, she doth believe that the Lords States, having better considered on it, will connive for the departure of her vessel, with all that it doth carry for her service; without which, the queen is bound to demonstrate to the Lords States, that this injustice and affront, which she shall receive by the arrest of this vessel, cannot pass for less than a violating of the league between the king and the States; the consequences whereof will be very dangerous, wherefore she hopes that they will not give such a just cause to the king and her, of such a displeasure. Done at Seheveling, the 25th February, *1643.

By the express command of her Majesty,

Subscribed William Boswell, Agent.

Before this manifesto was received, the queen set sail, in spite of the evil omens of her former voyage, and of the dangers which were reported to threaten her on all sides.

The Earl of Newcastle had intercepted letters which discovered a conspiracy betwixt Lord Savile, Sir Thomas Gore, the sheriff of Yorkshire, and some others, (of whom the Earl of Newport was suspected to be one,) for surprising the queen as she passed through Yorkshire; Saville and Gore were imprisoned, and Newport was cashiered. It was reported, that at a recent Parliamentary discussion, when some parties pressed for peace, Pym had said, that “if their lordships would have patience but a little

* The queen's protestation, fol. , Lond. 1643.

while, they should see them get so good a pawn into their hands, that they might make their own conditions.*"

The meaning of such phraseology was not difficult to divine. The particulars of the queen's landing, and of the perils she encountered are thus given by herself.

Burlington, this $\frac{15^{\text{th}}}{25^{\text{th}}}$ February, [1643].

My dear heart,

As soon as I landed in England, I sent Progers to you, but having learned to day that he was taken by the enemy,† I send you again this man to give you an account of my arrival, which has been very fortunate, thanks to God; for just as stormy as the sea was the first time I set sail, just so calm was it this time, till I was within some fifteen hours of Newcastle, and on the coast, when the wind changed to the north-west, which forced us to make for Burlington Bay, and after two hours waiting at sea, your cavalry arrived. I landed instantly, and the next day the rest of the army came to join me.

God, who took care of me at sea, was pleased to continue his protection by land, for that night, four of the Parliament ships arrived at Burlington without our knowledge, and in the morning about 4 o'clock, the alarm was given that we should send down to the harbour to secure our ammunition-boats, which had not yet been able to be unloaded; but, about an hour after, these four ships began to fire so briskly, that we were all obliged to rise in haste, and leave the village to them: at

* Mercurius Aulicus, Jan. 17, 1643.

† This is mentioned in Perfect Passages, 6th March.

least the women, for the soldiers remained very resolutely to defend the ammunition. In case of a descent, I must act the captain, though a little low in stature, myself.

One of these ships had done me the favour to flank my house, which fronted the pier, and before I could get out of bed, the balls were whistling upon me in such style that you may easily believe I loved not such music. Everybody came to force me to go out, the balls beating so on all the houses, that, dressed just as it happened, I went on foot to some distance from the village, to the shelter of a ditch, like those at Newmarket; but before we could reach it, the balls were singing round us in fine style, and a serjeant was killed twenty paces from me. We placed ourselves then under this shelter, during two hours that they were firing upon us, and the balls passing always over our heads, and sometimes covering us with dust. At last, the Admiral of Holland sent to tell them, that if they did not cease, he would fire upon them as enemies; that was done a little late, but he excuses himself on account of a fog which he says there was. On this they stopped, and the tide went down, so that there was not water enough for them to stay where they were.

As soon as they were retired, I returned to my house, not choosing that they should have the vanity to say that they had made me quit the village. At noon, I set out again to come to the town of Burlington, as I had previously resolved. All to day, they have unloaded our ammunition in face of the enemy. I am told that one of the captains of the Parliament ships had been beforehand

to reconnoitre where my lodging was, and I assure you that it was well marked, for they always shot upon it. I may truly say, that by sea and by land, I have been in some danger, but God by his favour has saved me, and I have such confidence in his goodness as to believe that he will not leave me in other things, since in this he has protected me ; and I protest to you, that in this confidence, I should dare to go to the very cannon's mouth, only that we should not tempt Him. This bearer is witness of all that has passed ; nevertheless, I would not refrain from giving you this relation. It is very exact, and after this, I am going to eat a little, having taken nothing to-day but three eggs, and slept very little.

Adieu, my dear heart.

*As soon as I have arrived at York, I will send to you to ascertain how I can come and join you ; but I beg you not to take any resolution till you have had tidings from me.**

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 81 b.]

The return of the queen was anticipated with different feelings by different parties, and the moderate man, when she was daily

* A short extract from this letter is printed in the small life of Henrietta Maria, published anonymously in 1671. The whole letter is also printed from this MS. in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlv. p. 363.

expected, expresses his fears of the results, "if she come in any other condition than as an angel and mediatrix of peace, in which, as I suppose, she may be most happily welcome, so there is no other way for her, either of honour or safety, nor for this poor kingdom to hope of quenching a consuming fire."*

Expressing his hopes of an accommodation, he adds, "Not that I foresee not great rocks and difficulties; but, if our other star would be pleased to afford and contribute the influence of her gracious beams for peace, and were now here, I should be confident. Now is the crisis, the sure season; if the queen would use some means, send some angel or dove before her, to assure the whole kingdom that she would come crowned and crowning with the olive-branch, I know she would not only be received with public joy, but a more royal fleet sent to conduct her than that of her happy marriage. She may now take the honour to herself, secure the kingdoms and her princely children, and oblige the whole state to acknowledge her the mother, as well of their felicity as of their kings."†

The parliamentary general in the north, Lord Fairfax, addressed her in terms almost similar, in a letter written to offer her his own escort,‡ and thus carrying out in words one of the anomalies of civil war, in which the enemies of the king professed to fight him only for his own service.

"Madam,

"Your Majesty's safe and happy arrival doth infinitely rejoice the hearts of all men that wish and hope by your majesty to

* Sir T. Roe to the Queen of Bohemia. Feb. 1643. Harl. MS. 1901.

† Same to Elizabeth, Princess Palestine. Ibid.

‡ The parliamentary newspapers speak of the queen applying to Lord Fairfax for a pass for Lord Newcastle's forces to join her, but the queen's letters do not mention so improbable an application.

procure a speedy settling of these great distractions, and that by the powerful influence of your Majesty's presence and mediation with his majesty, this kingdom (that hath tasted nothing but war and misery since your departure) shall now be restored to the happy condition of peace, which in human reason is the only means to make your Majesty and your posterity be loved and honoured.

"Madam, the parliament, the sceptre by which all the glorious and happy princes of this land have governed, and have thereby made themselves honoured at home, and terrible abroad, hath commanded me to serve the king, and (in him) your Majesty, in securing the peace of these northern parts. My highest ambition, and humblest suit is, that your Majesty, (refusing the attendance and services of those who by the highest court have been declared enemies of the peace and State) will be pleased to admit me, and the forces with me, to guard your Majesty; wherein I, and this army, shall all of us more willingly sacrifice our lives than suffer any danger to invade the trust reposed in

"Madam,

"Your Majesty's most humble servant."*

In the Parliament, however, stronger language and more sincere was used. Their minds were inflamed against her, and they strove to incense the people to the utmost, as abundantly appears by the contemporary newspapers. The two following extracts afford specimens.†

"An intercepted letter from the queen to the king was read in the House of Commons, wherein she certifieth him that though she be weak in body, yet she is strong in mind and spirit to go on in the work which she hath now in hand, and therefore she wisheth him not to give over the affair, or hearken to any peace, because she

* Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, Tuesday 14th March, 1643.

† Certain informations, 6-13 February, 1643.

hath provided for him abundance of arms, gunpowder, moneys, and other provisions, which are ready to come over into England, wherein the original of the present miseries and distempers in this kingdom now fully appear; for she is led by Jesuitical counsels, and therefore let the Houses of Parliament vote the disbanding of armies never so much, from hence it is conceived it will not easily be assented unto."

"In a letter from Rotterdam, it is certified that the Queen of England hath recovered her sea-sickness and palsy that infested her, and that she resolveth to come for England with the next easterly wind, and that she will bring twenty thousand arms with her, eight hundred barrels of gunpowder, and some hundreds of granadoes, whereof many weigh about a hundred pound apiece, which, the letter saith, are provided to fire the city of London; and it also informeth that the States General have commanded that none of her ships shall be stayed or searched; but whether this be to please the king, or out of a desire to be speedily rid of her, let such judge as know the Dutchmen's policies."

The House of Commons being informed of her landing, it was voted that a message should be sent to her majesty by a herald-at-arms;

"I. To demand the reason of her raising forces in this kingdom.

"II. To desire her reparty to London, where she should be royally and lovingly entertained.

"III. That if her majesty should refuse the same, then the parliament's forces in those parts to use all the means they could, by open force of arms, to hinder her majesty's proceeding, and oppose her march."*

This was at least intelligible; the queen was fully prepared for opposition in its strongest form, and her letters breathe only of contest.

* The Queen's proceedings in Yorkshire. 4to. Lond. 1643.

In the Special Passages, 7th March, we read —

“ We have here but little news, none good: our freshest information is, that the queen was landed at Burlington, and sometimes she resides there, and at Sir Henry Griffith’s sometimes, where the lord Newcastle is come; and hath sent out warrants in her majesty’s name, throughout all Holderness, for all persons from six to sixty to make their appearance, upon pain of imprisonment. What the issue will be, we as yet know not.”

The queen’s great anxiety was to join her husband, in order to influence by her presence certain political movements which were pending.

My dear heart,

I hope Parsons has arrived to give you tidings of my landing in England. I expected every day to go to York, which has always prevented me from writing to you, but so many difficulties have arisen that I have already been here nine days; what has retarded me has been the difficulty of finding waggons to carry the ammunition and my baggage. It would have been much safer for the whole army to march with me, and to leave nothing behind us. I hope that in a day or two I shall set out, and shall leave the half of the army to guard the ammunition, and the other half will march with me. We have to do with enemies who are very vigilant; therefore, we must be on our guard. I think that before I can join you, you will receive a letter for me from Wat Montague, which *he* [sends] you, [according to the orders] *I have given him, in order that you may read it*, but I am afraid that you will not understand it, for there is a great [secret. I] beg you to *send me it*, that *I* may

not *lose any time*,—being an affair very advantageous to your service,—that I may know how to frame the reply, there being in it many other things which [need] dispatch, which as I tell you, are not able to be communicated but by word of mouth; and *I* therefore beg *you* to tell *me* now *by what road I may come to join you*, in order that *I* may *adjust* all *that is needful to that effect*.

I will not repeat that I am in the greatest impatience in the world to join you. I hope that it will not be difficult for you to believe it, after all that I have done to secure it; and also that you have equal desire to see me, which I would fain believe, notwithstanding all the tidings I found current about you at my arrival. You pass for a dangerous creature, and I am

Entirely yours.

Burlington, this [22nd February].
4th March

I have so much business that I have not leisure to write to *Pym** nor to *Culpepper* (?). Remember me to them, and tell them I am returned to England as much their friend as when I left. I have brought one thousand saddles with me; I have been forced to give five hundred of them to this army, for they were in want of them. I have five hundred which I keep for you: if you have need of them, send me word, and, if you can do without them, it would be very well; it

* During the first cipher, Pym was a pseudonyme for the queen: afterwards, it seems to have been used merely as a blind.

will be very inconvenient to carry them. Let me have an answer quickly.

The correspondence of the royal pair was much intercepted about this time; a letter of the king is annexed, which was taken and printed, but with the cipher portions undeciphered.

“ Dear heart,

“ Though ever since Sunday last, I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not certain news thereof before yesterday, when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to York; I hope thou expects not welcome from me in words, but when I shall be wanting in any other way (according to my wit and power) of expressing my love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew me like a monster; and yet, when I shall have done my part, I confess that I shall come short of what thou deservest of me. *I am making all the haste I may, to send my nephew, Rupert, to clear the passage between this and York.* In the meantime, *there is a design upon Berwick Castle.* Yesterday, there was articles of a cessation brought me from London, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them; yet to undeceive the people, by showing it is not I, but those who have caused, and fostered this rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction, I am framing articles fit for that purpose; both which by my next, I mean to send thee. *Will. Murray doth write to me to make Hamilton duke, which I think fit to be done, but I would have thee have the thanks of it.**

“ I am now confident, that *Hamilton* is right for my service. Since the taking of Chester, there is nothing of note of either side, wherefore what little news that is, I leave to others, only this I assure thee, that the distractions of the rebels are such, that so

* He was made duke, 12th April, 1643.

many fine designs are laid open to us, we know not which first to undertake; but certainly, my first and chiefest care is, and shall be, to secure thee, and hasten our meeting; so, longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine,

“C. R.

“Oxford, $\frac{2^{\text{nd}}}{12^{\text{th}}}$ March, 164 $\frac{2}{3}$.

“The last I received of thine, was dated the $\frac{6^{\text{th}}}{16^{\text{th}}}$ February, and I believe none of my four last are come to thee; their dates are $\frac{3^{\text{rd}}}{13^{\text{th}}}$, $\frac{13^{\text{th}}}{23^{\text{rd}}}$, $\frac{15^{\text{th}}}{25^{\text{th}}}$ February, and $\frac{20^{\text{th}}}{2^{\text{nd}}}$ February.”

The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, 14th March, recorded that “on Wednesday last, the queen came to York. The recorder of York, a Parliament man, made her a speech, which was plain English to her majesty; that if she did not lend herself with all her faculties to a peace, (great distractions having been in England since her departure, occasioned by the great supplies from Holland,) greater would ensue, to the prejudice (he feared) of her majesty, and hoped to the utter extirpation of idolatry.”

In the year 1645, after the battle of Naseby, a cabinet belonging to Charles I. fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, which contained a number of the queen's letters, and copies of those from the king to her; these were immediately published, with such comments as the spite of party-malice could invent. The queen's letters, forming a part of the present series, are here incorporated in chronological order, with these notes appended; these notes, it should be remembered, were not written until the year 1645, and therefore sometimes bear the reflex of events posterior to their date. A fragment of the present letter was also published in the Memoir of Henrietta Maria, 12mo. Lond. 1671. It refers principally to a negotiation going on at Oxford, between the king and certain Parliamentary commissioners.

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet Opened, p. 28.]

My dear heart,

I need not tell you from whence this bearer comes, only I will tell you that the propositions which he brings you are good, but I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution; therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, (and do not tell who gave you this advice).

Sir Hugh Cholmley is come with a troop of horse to kiss my hand; the rest of his people he left at Scarborough,* with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither; so she is ours. The rebels have quitted Tadcaster, upon our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men; we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at Wetherby are sufficient; but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabouts, and lest they have some design, for they

* Sir Hugh Cholmley, governor of Scarborough, gave up the fortress to the Royalists. It was said, that after he had kissed hands, the queen turned her back on him, in scorn for his perfidy! The annotator of the letter, writes:—"Alas! poor Hugh Cholmley, that could turn traitor, and sell his honour for the kiss of a lady's hand! See what a toy took the man in the head, the love of a little court-idolatry put him quite out of his wits, and religion, too! And so Hugh Cholmley, when he was not himself, became wholly theirs, as did the rest of the mad-men of the kingdom."

have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt: between this and to-morrow night, we shall know the issue of this business; and I will send you an express. I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have passports to send; and I wonder that, upon the cessation, you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shows my love. I understand to-day from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships, and ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the army. Certainly I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason; but I would the disbanding of the perpetual parliament first: and certainly, the rest will be easy afterwards. I do not say this of my own head alone, for generally, both those who are for you and against you in this country, wish an end of it; and I am certain that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of; and for my particular, if you make a peace, and disband your army, before there is an end of this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France, not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it.

Adieu, the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.*

York, this 30th of March.

* "Here is a rare piece of serpentine subtlety in a woman. She pretends peace, and in that very instant, propounds such a motion, which, if seconded by her husband, must overthrow all hope of peace; and that is, the dissolving of this present Parliament, here termed in rancour, *perpetual*. The very mentioning whereof must needs have been (in all human judgment) a means rather to exasperate, than calm the tempestuous alarums of war; because the whole expectation and joy of all well-affected subjects depended upon the subsistence and continuance of this Parliament, whereas the country was the hope of the adverse party; for, as the queen here intimates, the rest would be easy afterwards: that is, they should have had a peace, according to their own hearts' desire, if the Parliament were at an end. This is part of the gentlewoman's politics, to involve the king and Parliament more deeply in the war. And, to make this plot take the more currently, she offers it not as her own opinion only, but alleges that all of both parties in that country are of that mind with herself, as touching an end of the Parliament. Those of their own party (no doubt) were; but that ours should decline their own interest, seems most grossly impossible. And to this, (as the grand motive,) she adds, that if upon demand, the Parliament should not assent to their own dissolution, Hull and all Yorkshire would be for the king; which peremptory assertion (besides the impossibility), argues nothing else but the queen's absolute endeavour, in the very instant of treating, to put the king upon such terms as must inevitably make a breach of the treaty, to the lengthening of the war; and to show her utter detestation of any peace, but that which should arise out of the fall of this Parliament, she signifies that she cannot endure, and dares not live here, as long as they have any power,—a plain evidence of the guilt of her conscience."

This letter should have gone by a man of Master Dimsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject; and therefore by this man it signifies nothing; but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by Elliot, the issue of the business of Tadcaster; since, we had almost lost Scarborough. Whilst Cholmley was here, Brown Bushell would have rendered it up to the Parliament, but Cholmley having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it, and hath desired to have a lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it, for which we should take his; he hath also taken two pinnaces from Hotham, which brought forty-four men to put within Scarborough, ten pieces of cannon, four barrels of powder, four of bullet. This is all our news; our army marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's excellency, and I will make an end of this letter: the third of April. I have had no news of you since Parsons. ^m

30th March, 3rd April (sic).

To Prince Rupert.

[Bromley Letters, p. 259, French.]

In the well known collection of valuable original royal letters, printed some years ago, under very defective editorship, as the Bromley Letters, there are two presumed to be from Charles I. to Henrietta Maria. The fact that they are written in French, first led to the conviction that they could not be from the king, and on comparison with the queen's style, and with the position of her

affairs at this juncture, it is clear that they were written by her, when she was preparing to join the king. The prince had just taken Birmingham, and was prepared to escort her southwards from Newark.

York, this 7th April.

I have received your letter in which you give me tidings of your coming. I will make all possible diligence to set out; but our army is gone to pursue the enemy, who flies from them, so that till I have received news from them, I cannot absolutely send you word of the day that we shall set out, but I will do so in three or four days. Meanwhile, I should be very glad to know what forces you bring with you, and what cannons, that I may regulate my movements accordingly: also to know how far you can march a day, and what places you will pass through, from where you are to Newark. I leave you to choose any place between where you are and Newark to stay in from this time, till I send you word that I am starting; and, if you wish to advance as far as Newark, do not let your troops pass beyond that place. And for your own person, if you wish to come as far as here, send me word, and I will send you an escort. I only intend to take with me my regiment of infantry and cavalry which will conduct me to Newark, as I do not wish to take anything away from this army. But I hope it will soon be in a condition to follow, if needful, for I think their business in this country will soon be finished. I will say no more, except that I am only too much obliged to you for coming to fetch me, and that I am entirely won over to you.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 78, Holograph.]

This letter was evidently suggested by the earl's having transmitted to the queen letters from the king, blaming some part of his conduct. The subject is mentioned more fully in the queen's letter to the king of April 23rd.

Cousin,

I return you your letters—you are not the only person that has been chid; I have had my share of it, but that does not affect me much, when I have reason on my side. It is very necessary for me to set out quickly. Henry Jermyn will have told you what Prince Rupert has written to me; therefore I pray you give orders that I may not have to wait for carts, and that they may be ready when I should start: and in whatever place I am, I shall always be, as I have promised you, and for that I pledge you my word, believe it; and that I am,

Your very good and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, this 8th April, [1643], at nine o'clock in the morning.
To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 97.]

My dear heart,

I have received three of your letters, one by Charles Blunt, another by the son of M. de la Vieville, and the third by a lackey—all in one day, and all almost on the

same subject, and in reply to those which I had written by Progers and Belingseley. I will not reply upon anything now, hoping to be soon with you, and my words will explain themselves better than my letters; only I will tell you that I am by no means satisfied with an article in *Ashburnham's* letter, which shows me clearly that they want to persuade you that it is dangerous for you to *speak of putting an end to the perpetual Parliament*, saying that may excite jealousy in the people, that you wish to repeal all the acts which have been passed by it; which is the finest reason in the world to ruin you, as if the one could not be separated from the other; and also, as if without that, if this Parliament remain, you could be otherwise than you were before you had taken arms! Why then have you taken arms? You are betrayed. I will let you see it. Never allow your army to be disbanded, till it is ended, and never let there be a peace till that* be put an end to. I refer to this bearer to say more by word of mouth, but remember that you are lost if you consent to a peace, unless that be first abolished. That is the first thing with which you must begin, for it is with justice that you demand, and the whole people wish it.

York, this 8th April.

* The Parliament.

To Prince Rupert.

[Bromley Letters, p. 261.]

In Addit. MS. 18,893, fol. 2, is a letter from Charles I. to Prince Rupert, of the same date as the present, begging him to "forward my wife's coming hither."

I have already sent you one letter to advertise you of what I think fitting you should know. This bearer has promised me to give you this note, which is to tell you the same thing as the other. If you please, advance to Newark, or near it, which you like best, and do not let your forces pass Newark; and as to your person, if you wish to come, and will send me word, I will send you an escort. This country is so ruined by the armies, that I should fear lest your forces would not be able to subsist. I hope in a day or two to send you word when I shall set out; for our army having found nothing at Pontefract,—the enemies having left it on their arrival,—have followed them to Leeds, which they have begun to attack to-day, and I hope to-morrow to hear news about it, which I will let you know immediately. Meanwhile, send me word what forces are coming with you, that I may regulate myself accordingly, as to whether to bring cannon or not; for as to troops, I shall only bring with me my two regiments of foot and horse. The army, or a good part, will come with me to Newark. But, if we beat the rebels, as I hope, our affairs will go well here, and there will remain only Hull to reduce, which I think

will be very easy, and then Yorkshire is free. I hope that you will recognise my little hand.*

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 256.]

My dear heart,

This afternoon I received letters from you by Tom Elliott, to which I have nothing to reply, except that I shall certainly never find anything to blame in what you are pleased to do. I only tell my opinions, and submit: but I will wait till I see you, for I am afraid lest my letters be explained after another fashion than that which I intend. Only I cannot refrain from saying this word to you, that *in print*, there is some *thing about disbanding armies*, which *I do not like*. I will only say to you, en passant, that *if you do it before the perpetual Parliament is finished*, all is lost. This bearer will tell you tidings from the place whence he comes: wherefore I have nothing more to say. Our army is gone to Leeds, and at this time are beating down the town. God send us good success: our affairs are in very good condition in this country;—besides eleven garrisons that we have in Yorkshire, our army marches seven thousand effective foot men, two thousand five hundred horse, and one thousand dragoons,—all very resolute; twelve pieces of cannon, and two mortars.

York, this 9th April.

* This is ironical. The queen's hand was remarkable for the largeness of its letters.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. folio 19 b.]

The earnestness with which the queen remonstrated with her husband against what she considered the impolicy of his negotiations with the Oxford commissioners, called forth from him expressions of pain which wrought upon the queen's sensitive heart, and elicited the following reply.

My dear heart,

By Ines and Progers I received your letters, the last of which puts me in no small pain for having hurt you so much ; but I hope you will believe that it was the care I have for you, and my affection, which made me act as I did ; for I protest to you that it is for your sake alone that I am angry or displeased ; for, as to my private self, I would rather live out of the world than suffer all that I have suffered in it, and I have sufficient knowledge that no one can be happy, even in prosperity, in it, to retire from it;—for it is but deceit. I have had enough of it to have experienced what both are,* and can be a good judge, and both shew me too well the contempt in which it should be held. This is not written in anger, but comes from a mind very resolute, and not frightened by our affairs ; for had I to suffer a thousand times more than I have done, which is I think impossible enough, I should not be rebuffed ; on the contrary, I should strengthen myself against misfortunes. But, if you were as you should be, you would see that all my actions and thoughts have been but for you, and that it was only

* That is both suffering and prosperity.

my affections which made me do all that I have done, or written. Therefore, if that be any fault, let me confess it; since you think it, I recognise and confess it, and hope for absolution; and I know well that when I speak to you, you will say I have been more in the right to write as I did than you now think, though I confess I was wrong in something. I have written all our tidings in cipher to *Culpepper*.

Adieu, my dear heart.

York, this 18th April.

To the Duke of Hamilton.

[Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 2.]

Whilst the queen was at York, she received the homage of the Royalist Yorkshire gentry, and was also visited by many of the Scotch peers, who took this opportunity to discuss their affairs with one whose influence with the king was known to be so potent. The queen's winning manners generally sent them away firmer Royalists than they came. Amongst her visitors, were Hamilton, just raised to a dukedom, the Earl of Montrose, Roxburgh, and Morton; lords Traquair, Kinnoul, and many others.

With the Duke of Hamilton, Henrietta seems to have contracted a friendship, and a correspondence was commenced between them.

[April, 1643.]

Cousin,

I received your letter with the assurances of the continuance of your affection, of which I hold myself secure, and make no doubt to see both the effects of it, and of that which you promised me at your parting, concerning my

Lord of Argyle. Will. Murray came yesterday from Oxford : as for news from hence, I refer you to Henry Jermyn, who will give you an account of them. I shall only tell you, that the Scottish lords, who were with the king, are on their way for Scotland, and so likewise are the commissioners that were with the king.*

You will know from Will. Murray the king's answer to the propositions which you made me at York. I am very glad to know by your letter, as likewise by what my Lord Montgomery hath told me, the protestations General Leslie makes concerning the armies in Ireland. And now, when all the king's servants shall be together, you must think of the means for preserving that army ; for my part, I know not what to say further about it. I am now upon my going to the king, and hope to part hence within ten days. If there be anything that hath occurred of late, I shall be glad to know it, and that you will believe how much I am,

Your affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 17.]

The following important letter gives a full account of the movements of the northern army at this crisis. The cause of the misunderstanding alluded to between the king, and the queen,

They left Oxford April 15th. Dugdale's Diary, p. 48.

and Duke of Newcastle, does not appear very clearly from the present correspondence. A contemporaneous newswriter, says:—

“There hath lately happened some difference between the king and the Earl of Newcastle, for that the earl refused to displace some officers of his army whom the queen liked not of, being Protestants, and put others in their places that came with the queen from Holland; and that, upon the earl’s going to bury his lady, the queen displaced divers of his said officers, and put others in their places, whereat the earl took great offence, and it hath bred a great division in the army.”*

This explanation, however, is not satisfactory, because the tone of the letter shows that the queen herself, as well as her general, had shared in the royal censure.

My dear heart,

I have received all your letters, and the last by Barclay, and should have despatched to you sooner, but I was still waiting the return of the Earl of Newcastle; he is gone to bury his wife, who has died, and is not yet returned; and without him I can resolve on nothing, *although I have already formed all my plans*. He has been there eight days, which has much retarded our affairs. He gives me to hope that he will be here to-morrow, but he has already written me that twice, so that I will no longer delay to send to you. When he is come, I will write again.

I know not whether you are informed of what has passed at Leeds. I had rather tell it you, for I shall do it without partiality, which is no small thing. Jealousy

* Perfect Diurnal, 1 May.

has crept from the west to the north—we are not free from it. Having heard that ‘Pontefract was besieged, our army advanced, as soon as money could be got to make it march; they set off, and by the road, *I gave six thousand pieces*, for without *that, they could not have marched*; but this *truth* should not be *known by every body*. The army marched to Pontefract; I hear that the rebels quitted the place, and went to Leeds to join the rest of Fairfax’s forces: our troops followed them, and it was resolved to besiege Leeds: on that, the approaches were made with very little resistance, and very fair success, although they shot perpetually from the town; but when our cannon came to play, it produced no effect, on which a council of war was called, to know whether the town should be forced by an assault, or rather by a siege. General King, and all the old officers from Holland, were of opinion that an assault was too dangerous, and might cause the ruin of all that army, by too severe a slaughter, and also that a siege was impossible, as we were not enough to make lines of circumvallation, the town being of very large circumference, and the weather also being bad; so that they resolved to raise the siege. General Goring, and the fresh commanders, were all for an assault, and I was with them. There were warm disputes thereupon, but the general, seeing that the experienced persons were against it, and that should he command them to it by his absolute power, [all] would not have gone on as in other circumstances it would, resolved to raise the siege.

Goring the father being there present, desired the

general to permit him to speak to Stockdale, one of his acquaintance, who was with Fairfax, and had desired to speak to him before, to see if it was not because they were willing to treat. The general permitted it, on condition that what he said should be as out of his own head, and not from him. On that, Goring went into the town, and learned that they desired to have a cessation of arms for four days, during which they wished to treat. This was granted to them, being a thing in which we risked nothing, since we had resolved to raise the siege, and [were] therefore very glad to accept it, *to make our retreat more honourable*.* The treaty came to nothing, and our army went off to Wakefield, where it now is, taking all the advantages over the enemy that it can. From Leeds, the general went home, which retards us all this time from doing anything; however I have resolved in myself that if he stays, I will come to join you, and, *en passant*, assure *Lancashire and Cheshire*, which *else are indangered*. Our army at this time is only twenty miles from *Manchester*. My proposition is this;—*to detach from this body of the army two thousand footmen, one thousand horse, two hundred dragoons, and some cannon, and to send them at once into Lancashire, to join with Earl Derby, and to clear out that country, which I hope can be done in ten or twelve days, and thus come to rejoin me at Newark, whither I shall go*

* The Perfect Diurnal of April 10, records that Fairfax feared to be besieged by the earl, and sued for money to strengthen himself; on which, the parliament voted £7,000.

from York, with my regiment of foot and cavalry, which consists of two thousand. I shall leave behind ten thousand men, who will, as I hope, soon have put an end to Fairfax, and then they can come after, and be conducted between us, if I set out and he [Newcastle] arrives not. I hope, however, that he will come, for the time that I gave him is expired.

A ship has just now arrived at Scarborough, with arms for us ; I know not yet what proportion.

By your letter you send me word that you have recalled your nephew. I am very glad of it, being in great trouble when I heard that you had sent him, when he was not ready to set out. I hope, too, that we shall be strong enough to make our way. The powder that you desire sets out to-day, and the match, although my lord Newcastle be not here. He is staying *to treat with Hotham's son,** if *he succeeds our affairs will go on well.* I have seen a letter that *you* wrote to the *Earl of Newcastle*, in which *you* say to him “ Though seemingly I laid the mistake home to you, I meant it to others ; more expecting your assistance, of which I believe to have found the effects, to clear it, than your abundant ingenuity, by confessing of what I do think you are not guilty.” I think that^s this is in reply to *our complaints : upon*

* It is well known that though the younger Hotham was at first so staunch a Parliamentary his father complained of his being a spy upon his movements, he was successfully tampered with by the Royalists, and Hull would have been surrendered, had not the plot been discovered.

whom do you lay the complaints ? for certainly there is no one who will not confess that we had reason to complain, having heard what we heard every day ; and if that is to fall upon me, I will take it, although I was only newly arrived when there was the great noise about it, and the discontent through all the army. I found it so on my arrival ; yet I will not refuse to take it upon myself to save the rest, for I know very well, that when I see you, you will confess yourself,—although I was in the wrong to write as I did, yet finding at my arrival the report which I did find, against which I was a long time disputing, I had some reason for what I did.

There is one thing in one of your letters to me, about which I must say the same thing as you, “ That if I, (for I assure you none else makes glosses and interpretations on your letters to me), have mistook the meaning of any of your letters, *I will be willingly rectified by you, being likewise confident of the same justice from you ;*” * and believe me, my dear heart, that I have nothing in the world in my thoughts but serving you, and pleasing you. If I am so unhappy as not to succeed in this, which I do not believe, I would ask to leave the world, being weary enough of it. When you shall know the fights that I and those who are with me have had to defend you *here, about the favourites, and the little desire felt that I should be with you, you would write us letters of thanks, and would not accuse us, although I confess that at last my*

* The passages in the quotations are in English.

anger carried me away; but you know that I come to myself if I am treated with reason.

Adieu, my dear heart.

York, this 23rd April.

News is this instant brought me, that another vessel of arms is arriving at Newcastle.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 85.]

The recent successes of the Royal arms, and the approximation of the king's army to London rendered the Parliamentary party desirous to renew the treaty broken off at Oxford.

Their consciousness of the queen's influence in politics appears from the following extract from one of their papers:—

“The house have at last published a large declaration of the result of the treaty at Oxford, and with that, some letters of his Majesty sent to the queen at York, whereby is intimated the private consultations have been with her concerning the treaty, and that (nothing) is to be done in that or other matters without her consent. No, not so much as any officers of state that can or will accept of any place of honour without her approbation and consent.”*

To her, therefore, in the first instance, they made an application which she thus records.

My dear heart,

This bearer Skipwith, being come from London with a passport, I have been very glad to make use of him to carry you this letter. The subject is, that *the lords Say, Salis[bury], Manchester, Pym, [and] Hampden*

* Perf. Diurnal, 22 May, 1643.

have sent this bearer to me to know whether I am willing to listen to a peace, and to induce you to be willing to recommence the treaty, and to grant what they had proposed at Oxford to you, and that he would show me so many reasons for my consenting to that, that if I would listen to them, that they would send Manchester and some other lord, Hampden and Stapleton to satisfy me, and they promised this bearer that till his return, the army of Essex should not advance. I judged that to be for your service, since by this delay the convoy may arrive. As to the reply that I have given, I have sent it to you, and I have said the same to the Parliament as you may easily judge by the English. I thought it fitting to show a desire for peace, since all your replies have been such. Send me a reply to this letter quickly, that I may know what you wish me to do, with exact orders, and let no one know anything of this, but Culpepper and Ashburnham (?), for I have been recommended secrecy, and I shall keep it; do you only as much on your side, for it is a thing [of] importance.

The king may add or insert what he pleases in this reply.* The porter who was going to take it can tell him more.

York, this 5th May.

For the C[ommons].

* Evidently endorsed on the reply to the letter to the Commons.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 137.]

Manchester, rich in commerce, and democratical in temperament, was the centre of a strong Parliamentary influence, which pervaded Lancashire, and which the Earl of Derby, the king's lieutenant in those parts, failed to keep in satisfactory check. On this subject, the queen addresses the Earl of Newcastle.

Cousin,

The necessity which exists that you should know the state of Lancashire, induces me to send to you Will Murray, who is so well informed, that I refer it to him to tell you the particulars. I will only say to you, that it would be great honour for you to regain that lost country. This letter being all on this subject, I will not lengthen it except by assuring you that I am,

Your very good and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, this 8th May, [1643].

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 139, Holograph.]

Cousin,

Since Will. Murray left, I have received tidings from Lancashire: this bearer will tell you them. I thought it fitting that you should have them, for you will

be more capable of judging what is to be done ; and, as for me, I shall remain

Your very good and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, this 9th May, [1643].

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 141.]

The following affords an instance of the winning manner in which Henrietta tried to soothe ill-humour, and compose discontent, even in a person in whom she had not entire confidence, as her subsequent letters prove ; but the Royal cause was in so critical a condition, that it could ill afford to lose a supporter, though it were one not in all respects efficient.

Cousin,

I have, as you requested me, conversed with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and am so satisfied with him, that I have not been able to refuse him some pistols, notwithstanding the prohibition I have received from the king to give any to any one. As to the letter you have sent me, which the king has written to Mr. Pierpoint, I confess that it had been better for him not to have done it. But, it seems to me that you should not be offended with it, for it is with so great reverence for you, that it is rather [placing him] under you than otherwise. I entreat you not to let this make you neglect anything, for you say that we may let him act—that he will soon spoil all. But, if all were spoiled, it would be more difficult to restore than to pre-

serve it. Let us not mind our passions, and let us reflect that, for a small offence, we may ruin all. I give you no advice which I have not taken myself, having subdued my vexation upon the march of the army for the public good,—for this it was called,—although I had perhaps greater ground for it than I choose to tell. I only tell you this, to give you an example, and to assure you by this frankness, that I am

Your constant and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, this 10th May, [1643].

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379. fol. 4.]

Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, mentions that if one want ought to be named as more special at Oxford, where everything was wanting, it was that of ammunition, the only hope of supply being from the queen, and the conveyance southwards dangerous. To this want the queen thus refers.

My dear heart,

I have received your two letters about the propositions that are *put in question* in case *your ammunition should fail*, namely, whether you should go to the west, which is a thing that the more I consider it, the more *dangerous* I find it, because *retiring from the north*, you would lose all sort of *assistance of ammunition*, and if any *misfortune happened you*, the *passages* would be *cut off*

between you and this army, for certainly the first thing the rebels would do would be to cut off the passages. You would be without resource and help from this army; moreover, the hopes of the Irish forces lost, and all those of Wales. For the second proposition of Peterborough, it is a place where you can strengthen yourself. My opinion is, that if you are forced to leave Oxford, which I hope [will not be], that would seem to me the fittest place, on account of the intercourse which your forces can have together, both from the north, and from Ireland and Wales. In that place we can join, and advance afterwards towards London; whereas, if you go the west, all those places are in danger of being lost. Also, when you are at Shrewsbury, you can go more easily towards the west than here, always keeping a free passage. I hope that the ammunition is arrived, and that you will be able still to stay at Oxford some time on the defensive, till [my] army may go to you, which I hope to send you word of in ten or twelve days. Our affairs go on very well: till then, I shall be able to send you no word of my journey, but I shall do my best, if this army cannot go, to come myself, as Percy will show you, by some propositions he will make you thereupon. I pray you let me know your resolution about it, and meanwhile, I will lose no time.

The *Earl of Antrim*, seeing by letters which *Ashburnham* (?) wrote to his wife, that you did not wish him to go to Oxford, has proposed to me to go to Ireland, to try to persuade the Irish to make reasonable propositions. I can assure you that he will do it faithfully; he leaves me

here *his wife as a pledge*.* Please to keep this secret, and to have the goodness to write a letter to the *Earl of Ormond*, that the *persons* whom *Antrim* shall send to the *duchess, his wife*, may *pass safely*, and command him not to say a word about it to anybody. I must also beg you not to dispose of the place of the late Mr. Denby, as you did of another place 'of the chief melter's place of the mint.'† Adieu, my dear heart. [I am half] dead with writing and deciphering, having only just received your two letters, in reply to which I have written this—all that one after another.

York, this 11th May.

Remember me to the duke,‡ and when you show him the length of this letter, he will easily excuse me for not having written to him.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 10.]

My dear heart,

It is but two days since I wrote to you by a man of my lord Newcastle, which I do not fail to do twice a-week. I fear that some of my letters are lost, for I get no reply to one that I wrote by Will. Murray's man,

* Antrim's wife, was Lady Catherine Manners, widow of George Villiers, the far-famed Duke of Buckingham; she was still frequently spoken of as Duchess of Buckingham, according to a prevalent custom of the day, which retained a superior in preference to an inferior title.

† In English.

‡ Of Richmond.

which gave you a very exact account of all we were doing here, and of many other things which I thought it necessary for you to know. In my last, I answered you touching what you wrote me about *the west*, which I will allude to again in this, for fear lest the other be lost: which is that *I am not for your going to the west*, for you would no longer be able to have any assistance from the north, nor from Wales, nor from Ireland by Chester. Assuredly, Ashburnham (?) will add to this some reasons that he has given me in his letter. He will tell you them, for he will remember them. They are the same that I could say,—only that I would add here that I hope now that the ammunition is arrived, *you may stay at Oxford, on the defensive, till I can arrive*; and to this effect, I have sent Jermyn to lord Newcastle, to press him to give me nine hundred men, who are coming from Newcastle and Berwick, that have no arms. If that succeed, I doubt not of bringing you four thousand men, well provided with the equipments of a little army, in spite of all the hindrances there are, which are not small, for our general and all the gentlemen of the country are against it. This army is called the queen's army, but I have little power over it, and I assure you that if I had, all would go on better than it does. The duke will have told you all that passed here at their departure, about my journey. I had written it you since; I fear that my letter is lost, having had no reply. As soon as Jermyn is returned, I will send you another messenger, and by him, an absolute resolution about what I will do; this will be in two days.

I have sent so many despatches into France and Holland this week that, instead of complaining, you should pity me: then you must not forget the letters I have written to our army here, as well as the impatience I feel to set off, and the diligence I use for that. When I see you, and can tell you all this, you will say that I am a good little creature, and very patient; but I declare to you that being patient is killing me, and, were it not for the love of you, I would with the greatest truth rather put myself into a convent than live in this manner.

Adieu, my dear heart.

I have received your two letters, one dated the 7th and 8th, and the other the 10th. As to the excuses you make for having opened one of my letters of *Wat. Montagu*, I am offended that you should believe I have any secret from you, that I would not tell you. No; I swear to you I have none. I beg you to tell *Culpepper* and *Ashburnham* that if I do not write, it is because I have written all I have to say to you. I am very weary of writing.

York, this 14th May, 1643.

To Charles I.

[*Ibid.* folio 46.]

My dear heart,

I hope you will not complain that I do not write to you very often, having done so four times this week. This is the resolution of what *Jermyn* has done with *the*

Earl of Newcastle [about] *my journey to Oxford*, which I assure you has been with no small trouble, but I hope that it will succeed well. The things most difficult in the beginning prove best in the end. I have ordered Jermyn to write all to you, and have taken the liberty you have given me, to have my letters written by another than myself, for my sight is much weakened with writing, only I must tell you that it is long since I have been so cheerful and content as I am—you may easily judge the reason. I will not fail to let you know punctually all that passes. I had done so before, but assuredly my letters have been lost. I had forgotten in my last letters to tell you that what *you have changed in my reply by Skipwith*, I think *very good*,* and that *I will execute punctually what you have ordered*, but I believe that all *that will come to nothing* ; still, it is *gaining time*.

Adieu, my dear heart.

York, this 17th May.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 5 b.]

The queen's sanguine temperament, and her contempt for the enemy, always made her too hopeful, and the following letter can hardly fail to remind the reader of the old fable of the little milk-girl and her chickens.

* No doubt the reply sent by the queen to the communication addressed to her by Parliament. In the original MS., this letter is not undeciphered.

This letter is repeated in substance in another on folio 52, date May 20th, which is undeciphered, but from which several omissions in the present one are filled up.

My dear heart,

I have delayed this bearer one day, because he who should have written this relation is ill, so that I have taken a day more for writing. I will begin by the desire that my Lord Newcastle *had to go to Nottingham with Rupert, to besiege that place, and thus to march with all his arms to you, as he said, but inconstancy rules a little in that quarter ; but if he had done it, besides the length of time that would have elapsed before executing it, he would have left Yorkshire in danger, and Lancashire lost ;—Earl Derby being come to tell me that he cannot subsist, all his troops being retired, if he has not help ;** and in consequence, *Cheshire had followed, and then the Scots, who I believe will also become one party in Northumberland, with the earl, which Lincolnshire begins, which has some new force come ; and, moreover, the gentlemen of this country [would be] offended [if they were left, so] that I do not know what they would have done.*

Upon this, *I sent Jermyn, as I had told you, to give my opinion to the Earl of Newcastle, and try to prevent*

* The Countess of Derby also wrote to the queen, assuring her that, unless she would speedily send two or three thousand men to aid her husband, the whole country would be lost; and the Scotch lords commissioners, who were passing through that neighbourhood, *en route* between Oxford and York, wrote her to the same effect. Special Passages, 18th May.

all these inconveniences, and also that *I might come to join you* quickly, which, I believe, has succeeded very well, for *our army* [is] now [to] *go to Leeds, Bradford and Halifax*, which is only twenty miles from Manchester, which will give such a fright to Manchester, that the rebels, who were overrunning that country, will come to shut themselves up; and *Earl Derby* at this time is content to return, and to re-assemble all his forces, and to keep on the defensive, till the army may go to Manchester, which I hope will be very soon; for I think that *Leeds* being taken, the two other places are not considerable, and thus *Manchester* will come into play, which, if we take it, all *Lancashire* is yours; and that town is capable of arming six hundred men, and [has] an infinite store of riches. When that is done, all these counties on this side will be cleared, so that only garrisons in some places will suffice; and after that, the army may march where you will, all being clear behind them; and between now and that time, we can see what the *Lords* will do, and thereupon take new resolutions.

Now for my journey—this is resolved, that the *Earl of Newcastle* will give me a regiment of foot, which has come, which is not yet armed, and I will arm them, with six companies of horse, one park of artillery, and *G[eneral] Goring* for to command, and all this, with my two regiments, and others which I expect to find at *Newark*: and all this will advance [on Monday to New]ark. Whilst I am getting ready, these troops will try to clear *Lincolnshire*, and I hope the Monday after to set out. If you

would send back *the people that Percy brought you*, that *would do us great good*, particularly *the cavalry*. I hope that we *shall make up well the number you desired*, one thousand foot, and one thousand five hundred horse at least, and *well armed* I promise you ; but for the bargain which I have made with *the Earl of Newcastle*, I have been obliged to give *arms*, as also to *Lord Derby*, and to *those of Lincolnshire*, so that I cannot bring the proportion which I expected, but believe that what I have done is well worth *the arms* : for, instead of an *army which you should have had out of the north*, you will have one in the north, and a little one *which will go to you*, and *Lancashire regained*, which *would have been lost*, and the others that I have named before ; and all this has been done by great pains, for *our general is fantastic and inconstant*, but still we *are very good friends*. I hope I shall bring you *six hundred muskets and five hundred pistols*—you have already had by *Percy five hundred muskets*. On Monday, *Jermyn as colonel of my guards*, leads all these *forces* until *Goring can go*. Goring has been very ill, but I hope he will be quite recovered to go with me when I go.

I pray God that you may think all this right. It is all that I desire, or else I should not take all the pains I do, for I assure you that all this has been a very great work, also paying the arms of Hardock, who says that they mount up to eight thousand nine hundred pieces, which is no little sum for this time, and makes security

be given for as much more. Will. Murray gave me two thousand pieces of his own money.

You will have heard of the alarm about Newark, which was so rife, that Newark was believed lost, but at last it was found that we had the advantage, as you will assuredly have been informed from the place itself. We are raising levies every day in Derbyshire. I hope that in a fortnight this army will be ten thousand foot, and three thousand horse. At present, the garrisons are seven thousand, and two thousand horse, and some dragoons. This is the state of our affairs.

Remember to do what *Digby* and *Will. Murray* have told me you were resolved to do, to *declare this Parliament, not a free Parliament*. Let it be done before *I* arrive, or else it will be said that it is *I who am* always for all sorts of violent measures, and that would render me incapable of serving you, which is the only thing that makes me write this to you—for else I care nothing about it. I shall wait the resolution of what you will do thereupon at Newark. Adieu, I can no longer see anything.

18th May, 1643.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 142. Holograph.]

Cousin,

This gentleman has brought me the good tidings from Newark: I beg you to encourage them as much as you

can to pursue their business, for that will be a very great advantage for my journey. I have nothing else to say except that I am and ever shall be

Your constant and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

York, this 28th [May, 1643].

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 148. Holograph.]

The Earl of Newcastle was so successful in Yorkshire that he succeeded in driving away the parliamentary forces from a large portion of the country.

Cousin,

You may imagine that I have not been sorry for your triumphs, and that I wish you many more yet: as to what you write me about Charles Cavendish's* staying at Gainsborough, I think it very fitting, and I have written him my opinion about it. If he be still where you are, tell him, if you please, to do it, and that I have sent an express to him to Gainsborough for that. I hear that our arms, which are coming from Newcastle, are in the greatest danger of being taken,—troops having gone out of Leeds towards Knaresborough to meet them: it would be a loss were that to happen.

The Earl of Derby is arrived at York, being no longer

* A younger brother of the Earl of Devonshire, who headed the royal forces in Lincolnshire.

capable of defending himself, or of raising men, the rebels being too strong: therefore, we must expect that this country will be coming here upon us. Provided all goes well at Oxford, and our ammunition arrives, I shall not despair: but if the head is wounded, the rest will go ill. God preserve us from it, and believe me ever

Your constant and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, May 1643.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 62 b.]

My dear heart,

I have already sent you a despatch to tell you all that has passed here in the surprise of Wakefield,* in which we have lost five hundred or six hundred men nearly, which is no small loss I assure you; and thus I have not been able to send Henry Jermyn into Lincolnshire, with his troops, as I sent you word I would, on account of the alarm that we had at York, which however was greater than in reason it should have been, because the army was so far from us; but between us and the enemy there were no forces which could resist. That has made me retard it two days; *also this garrison [being] very weak, the city ill-affected generally, and knowing nothing of the truth about the affair of Wakefield.*

During this time, my lord Newcastle sent to beg me to stay till he had taken Leeds, and to give him the arms that I had reserved for you; or else he could do nothing.

* By Lord Fairfax; Goring, and Ramsay were taken prisoners.

I thought that if I refused the arms, and some new accident happened, all the blame would be laid upon me ; so that I have sent them, but only on this condition, that if you commanded me to come, those who had the arms should attend me everywhere when I wished it, which he has promised upon his faith, and thus we lose neither time nor arms: instead of arms, I shall bring armed men ; also *I could not set out before June*, which has made me despatch two expresses to you, to tell you our condition, and to know if *you wish me to come and join you, and if it is necessary for your affairs that I set out quickly*. *If it must be, you must command absolutely, and I will do it ; but if it be not necessary, please to leave me to do what I shall judge fit for the good of your affairs in this country*. If you send me some one back quickly, there will be no time lost, and I hope that between this and your reply, Leeds will either be taken or given up. *The rebels are grown strong, and we weakened since our loss ; but I hope that, if we take Leeds, all will yet go well*.

I have sent you, by the last which I despatched you, what has [been] done *in Denmark*. Please to resolve something thereupon—*there is no time to be lost*, and send back some one to *conclude what you will do*, whether you are satisfied to give *the islands*, about which I *should make no difficulty*, it only being a *thing which concerns Scotland*. *Care must be taken that the Scots do not avail themselves of this opportunity to take offence*. Therefore, if you are willing to give them, I would make a *secret contract with the King of Denmark* to deliver

them to him when *your business* [is] *settled* ; and tell him the reason why you do not do it at this instant, and that if *the King of Denmark agrees to that, he that shall go* [shall] *treat with him about the place where he shall land his forces, and where his ships shall come* ; and do this quickly, and without delay.

I have commanded *Jermyn* to write something which was too long for me to write, for your consideration. I have retained Charles Jarett to come with me, therefore do not think it strange that he comes not to you : he was ill.

The Duchess of Buckingham* has begged me to write to you that you would order secretary Nicholas to write on your behalf to her children to obey her, else they will be lost ; for they have no one near them to take care of them, and they are becoming debauched. As to their concerns, she will not meddle with them in any fashion in the world, only let them believe what she says to them, that they may not be lost in this world. It would be a very small honour for you to see them ill brought up, after you have taken them under your care.

Adieu, my dear heart.

As I was closing this letter, I have received your letters by Tomkins, and have not anything to reply, nor anything to add to what I have written to the Parliament, except to wait your reply : but upon one particular

* Countess of Antrim. See page 199.

touching *Percy*, about the *place that you have given him of general of the artillery*, which I hope is not for ever, but only for this time ; for if you give to one alone, what might satisfy [many?], you will scarcely have wherewith to satisfy everybody : for *Percy* is grand esquire of *Prince Charles*, general of artillery, lord-governor of *Guernsey*, and with all that, not content, and spiteful against *Culpepper* (?) and *Ashburnham* (?) ; and he writes me, that if *Jermyn* comes with intention of joining himself with [me], that he will be chased away from being with me ; and then he says that if *Jermyn* wishes to join himself with them, that he will do him good offices with you. I confess that this vanity of *Percy* is foolish, but the fault is partly yours, for if a person speaks to you boldly, you refuse nothing. The reason why I write you about it is merely that you may know the men ; for, as to *Percy*, you know well, that it is *I* who always speak for him ; but I now see that he acts of his own head, and that he fancies he has a power over you which I hope he may deserve, but he has not yet deserved it, that is, since the letter that he has written to the Parliament. I assure you that neither *I* nor any one over whom I have any power would ever do other than what you [command].

Since this letter was written, I have consulted with the *Earl of Newcastle* and *General King* upon the state of this army, and the means there were for me to come to you. The conclusion has been that the *Earl of Newcastle* should give me two thousand foot men, twelve companies of

cavalry, and two hundred dragoons. For arms, you must not expect them at present, for I have been constrained to give them, to arm the new men. I shall set out the 31st of this month, and that it may not be hindered, I keep it very secret. I pretend only to go to Pontefract, during the time they are besieging Leeds, which will not be, being impossible, bringing you the forces which I do.

I had sent you a despatch by Whitfield, to tell you what is passing here, and to know if you wished me to join you now, or later. I think that before I arrive at Newark, I shall have your answer, and if you command me to come, I shall pass according to the resolution I am now in; and, if you permit me to stay, I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals, that if you permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away, I am afraid that they would not be beaten. If you have written to me, in reply to my letters, to come, you will please to send Northampton to hold himself ready, with some forces, when I shall send to tell him that I am drawing near to where he is; also to please to send the troops which Percy brought with him, as far as Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and there to await my orders. If no accident happen, I will not fail to set out the 31st of June. I pray you to despatch again some one in reply to this, but to keep all this secret; and let all those to whom you speak of it do the same. I had sent you word that the Earl of Antrim was gone into Ire-

land; I fear that *he is taken by the Scots in Ireland*; but he has nothing *of mine in writing*. I would still hope that it is not so.* Adieu.

York, this 27th May.

If you cannot take the trouble to decipher this letter, I beg you to let no one do it but *Culpepper* or *Ashburnham* (?) Everything but what concerns *Percy* you may tell to *Richmond* (?)† but not that if you please, nor to our nephew either.

* This report was true, and the queen did not escape implication in this and other secret plots, as she hoped.

Perf. Diurnal, 10th July, says — “The first thing of note for this week’s intelligence, is the security of Hull, and apprehending of the governor, Sir John Hotham, and Captain Hotham, his son, and some others, by the mayor, aldermen, and inhabitants of the town, upon discovery of a dangerous plot for the betraying of Hull to the enemy.”

“Letters received per General Monro, state — ‘That for the managing and ordering of the plot, discovered by the apprehending of the Earl of Antrim, for the destroying the Protestants, and bringing over the rebels in Ireland, against England and Scotland, there hath been instructions sent thither from the queen, as appears by letters to the Earl of Antrim.’ They add, that her schemes against Lincoln and Dover Castle, were similarly defeated.”

† Or Southampton, the plan of the cipher requires a word beginning with R or S.

To the Duke of Hamilton.

[Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 229.]

The queen alludes, at the close of the following letter, to her inculcation of treason by Parliament.

The Perfect Diurnal of 29th May, says —

“After long and serious debate, touching the proceedings of the queen, in her late being in Holland, and since her coming into the north, not only in her aiding and assisting the present war, but actual performance in the same; for all which, or other misdemeanours, it was debated and fully agreed, that she was liable to the censure of the law, as any subject in the kingdom; and therefore, after much consultation, it was put to the question, whether the queen's pawning the jewels of the crown in Holland, and therewith buying arms and ammunition to send hither to assist the said war against the Parliament, and her actual performances with her popish army be not high treason, which was unanimously resolved by the whole house for the affirmative.”

Throughout the impeachment, Henrietta Maria was never formally entitled “queen,” on the pretext, that she had never been crowned, her popish prejudices revolting against the ceremonials of a Protestant coronation.

This attack upon a daughter of Henri Quatre roused vehement indignation in Paris, and many a gallant sword would gladly have leaped forth in her defence, had not the unsettled state of the kingdom, owing to the recent death of Louis XIII., impeded operations.

Cousin,

I received your letter, and have given an account to the king of what you tell me. I hope the king's faithful servants will be so much the more firm to his service,

that the wickedness of others appears, and will by their care and diligence prevent the malice of others. We had here a mischance in one of our quarters by the negligence of our people;* the greatest loss we have had is known, yet we are not at all discouraged, and hope quickly to have a revenge. Our army consists (without reckoning the garrisons) of seven thousand foot, and sixty-nine troops of horse, besides my two regiments, so that for all our mischances, we are in no ill condition. I have news from the king, that his army is as strong as Essex's, and that Essex does not advance. The king hath sent Prince Maurice to the West with two thousand horse and one thousand foot; the gentlemen of the West have promised to raise an army of ten thousand men in six weeks, so that I can assure you, all our affairs go well. And from France (except the death of the king, my brother†) I have very good news, as likewise from Denmark.

If the king does not press me to go to him quickly, I hope to see Leeds taken before I part. You will give a share of these news to all our friends, if any dare own themselves such after the House of Commons hath declared me traitor, and carried up their charge against me to the Lords. This I assure you is true, but I know not yet what the Lords have done upon it. God forgive them for their rebellion, as I assure you I forgive them from

* Alluding to the surprise of Wakefield.

† Louis XIII., died May 14th, 1643.

my heart for what they do against me, and shall ever continue as I have promised,

Your affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

28 (?) May, 1643.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.]

Cousin,

Monsieur de Gressy will tell you of my affliction for the loss of the king, my brother, and also of my gratitude for the proofs I daily receive of your affection, which I beg you to continue, assuring you that you can never oblige any one who will be more grateful than I am. I refer myself to Monsieur de Gressy, to tell you many things from me ; therefore, I will conclude, saying that I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

[May 1643.]

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Montrose and his Times, vol. ii. p. 77.]

The gallant Marquis of Montrose was another of the Scottish peers with whom the queen became associated. His memory has lately been gallantly defended by one of his descendants from several aspersions, and amongst others, from some with which Henrietta Maria was unpleasantly connected. The name of

Montrose may be regarded as the embodiment of chivalrous loyalty; but when the fidelity of many a long-trusted friend gave way under the pressure of the times, his did not always escap temporary suspicion.

Cousin, '

I have received your letter, and perceive that you consider affairs in Scotland to be in a very bad state, as regards the interests of the king, and this owing to my own neglect of certain propositions submitted to me when I first arrived. In that, I followed the commands of the king. But still I am of opinion that, if his majesty's faithful servants would only agree among themselves, and not lose time, all the evil to be dreaded from that quarter may be prevented.

For my own part, I shall contribute to the utmost of my power. When the arms that are coming from Denmark, and which I daily expect, have arrived, you shall have whatever of them you require, and every possible assistance from myself, who have always greatly confided in you, and in the generosity of your character. And this confidence, be assured, is not in the least diminished, although I too, like yourself, have been made unhappy by rumours that you have formed an alliance with certain persons, which might well create apprehension in my mind. But my trust in you, and the esteem with which I regard you, are not built upon so slippery a foundation as mere rumour, nor to be shaken by an event, which, if it be as reported, could only have been occasioned by your zeal for his majesty's service. Be assured, moreover,

that neither shall I fail in my promise to you, and that I am, and ever will be,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, 31st May, 1643.

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 144, Holograph.]

There was great reluctance on the part of the northern army to submit to the reduction of force necessary for providing an escort for the queen to travel southward, a fact which explains the following letter.

Cousin,

Seeing that my journey is the cause of many distractions in your army, for want of understanding the reasons there are for it, I am induced to beg you to please to assemble to-morrow, at Pontefract, a council of war, in which that affair can be freely discussed; and I will venture to say that what I desire will be judged to be for the king's service, and the preservation of all this country; for as to myself, I think no one accuses me of desiring the contrary: and all that is passing now, is only for want of understanding one another, and of all joining in the defence of the public cause, which will certainly suffer, unless we do so. This is all I have to say to you. It will not be needful for you to come this evening to the place where I am to sleep; for, if it please God, to-morrow I shall pass by Tadcaster to go to Pon-

tefract, and I have written all I wanted to say to you,
Your constant and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, Saturday, 3rd June, [1643].

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Ibid. folio 145, Holograph.]

Cousin,

In reward for your good tidings from Denmark, I will send you good ones from the West and from France. For those of the West, I send you the paper; as to those of France, the queen is sending us arms and money. Also they are wanting to send a fleet to sea for the king. Of this last, do not say a word. From London, they tell us that Hollis is in prison, and more than thirty others, Conway and many ladies.*

The king is still expecting to be besieged in Oxford, and is resolved not to leave it, the Lords being unwilling to give their consent, saying that they will all leave, unless the king shuts himself up with them. This makes the king press me again to come to him, and he had sent me a letter to command you absolutely to march to him, but I do not send it you, since I have taken a resolution with you that you remain. There is a gentleman, Lieutenant

* For the particulars of the pretended conspiracy, upon which many of the moderate party, and some Royalists, including Lady d'Aubigny were imprisoned, see Clarendon's *Rebellion*, vol. ii. p. 331, et. seq.

Markham, who has received from you a letter, so angry, that I thought it could not be from you, so that I have commanded him to remain, and I hope that he will not be punished for it; moreover, since the king commands me to join him, and says that I shall need all our forces from hence, and since I am yet good-natured enough not to send you your order from the king to march to him, you, on your part, must not punish one who stays by order of the queen. I am so hurried in writing this, that I postpone telling you what we are doing here to another time. And, as we have here a general who does nothing but talk of designs of beating the enemy, I will assure you nevertheless, that I am truly,

Your constant and faithful friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Newark, this 18th June, [1643].

To the Earl of Newcastle.

[Ibid. 146, Holograph.]

Cousin,

I was yesterday so weary with having written into every quarter of the world, that I commanded Jermyn to excuse me to you. In return for all your good news, I must tell you that we have lost Tamworth, and that it was taken before our people could arrive. It is not a great matter; it will not prevent me from going on Wednesday to join the king. To-morrow, I will send you my cipher; it is Jermyn's fault that you have not had it, for I had given it to him to copy. Hotham has

escaped, and is at Lincoln. I do not know whether his man is with you. I hope now, that he will be prudent : better late than never. I am,

Your faithful and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Newark, this 25th June, [1643.]

To my cousin, the Earl of Newcastle.

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet Opened, p. 33.]

This letter is another of those published in the King's Cabinet, and the notes given, are by the Parliamentary commentator. The only cipher used in the letter, is 260, that by which the queen designated herself, which is therefore read by *I* or *me*.

My dear heart,

I received just now your letter by my Lord Saville, who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will pardon two days' stop, it is to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in prison by order of Parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to *me* that he would cast himself into *my* arms, and that Hull and Lincoln shall be rendered. He is gone to his father, and *I* wait for your answer,* so that

* "Here is a full confirmation of the Parliament's justice upon the two Hothams, they having (besides their intended treachery concerning Hull and Lincoln) a long time so favoured the king's party there, and the queen upon her landing, that it was a main cause that the North continued so long to be the stage of war, and that so much innocent blood was spilled there and in other parts of the kingdom."

I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lie at Whatton, and from thence to Ashby, where we will resolve what way to take; and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches,—all their forces of Nottingham at present being gone to Leicester and Derby,—which makes us believe that it is to intercept our passage. As soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present, I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire: I leave two thousand foot, and wherewithal to arm five hundred more, and twenty companies of horse; all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the gentlemen of the country have desired me not to carry with me—against his will, for he desired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham one thousand. I carry with me three thousand foot, thirty companies of horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guards, and Sir Alexander Lesley the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her she-majesty, generalissima,* and extremely diligent, with one hundred and fifty waggons of baggage to govern, in case of battle.

* “Heighday, the town is ours now, as they say in the Proverb; she styles herself generalissima, and next to herself, Harry. But were we not much beholden to our dear neighbours of Holland, that shipped away all this for England, under the name of the

Have a care that no troop of Essex's army incommode us, for I hope that for the rest, we shall be strong enough; for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten six of theirs, and made them fly.

I have received your proclamation, or declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you, for you show too much fear,* and do not what you had resolved upon.

Farewell, my dear heart.

Newark, 27th June, 1643.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 151, Holograph.]

A considerable period elapsed, during which we have no record from the busy pen of Henrietta Maria. After the date of her last, on July 3rd, she left Newark, and travelling by short stages, went by Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Croxall, Walsal, and King's Norton, to Stratford-on-Avon, where Prince Rupert met her on July 11th; hence on the 13th to Keinton, near to which, at the foot of Edge

queen's baggage? I was the more willing to set down this part of the letter, that you may see how conscientiously they provided for us, in making our queen such a Hogen Mogen princess, that she made no reckoning to swallow up us and our religion, in that prodigious title of "*Mary by the help of Holland Generalissima*," &c.

* A pardon was offered in it to all who would put themselves under the royal protection at Oxford; the Parliament was declared not to be free, and some of their misdoings were specified.—Perfect Diurnal, 3 July.

Hill, took place her joyous meeting with her husband and two eldest sons, from whom she had been parted more than fifteen months. The royal pair slept that night at Sir Thomas Pope's house, at Wroxton, and went on the next day to Woodstock, where they remained a short time till the disappearance of symptoms of the plague permitted their removal to Oxford.* Thence the queen's succeeding letters are dated.

The report here named of the death of Sir Charles Cavendish, must have been unfounded, if Clarendon's account of him be correct, for he mentions him as fighting at Marston Moor the following year.

Cousin,

The medicine that I have taken to-day, and the ill tidings that are told here of the death of Charles Cavendish, the first will prevent my writing you more than these few words, and the second makes me send Tomkins back to you to know the truth of what has happened, begging you to send him back quickly, in case you have not already sent another, for I am extremely anxious. I will conclude by assuring you, that I am constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, this 2nd August, [1643].

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 152, Holograph.]

The tone of this epistle is not the most submissive and wife-like possible. It is evident that there were times when Henrietta not

* Dugdale's Diary, p. 48, Perfect Diurnal, July 1643.

only presumed to differ from, and disobey her lord and master but when, even to others, she found fault with his arrangements. The newsmongers of the day speak of her discontent with the king for going to the siege of Gloucester. The cipher used in portions of this and several subsequent letters, was the same as the last used between the king and queen; Jermyn had given Newcastle the key of it before leaving the North.

Cousin,

I have received three of your letters by Tomkins, and [tidings of] the reduction of Lincoln. I think you will easily imagine my joy in your prosperity. The king is gone himself in person to Gloucester, which gives no small dissatisfaction to everybody here, and with reason too, to see him take such sudden counsels; and all those who have advised him themselves disavow it. I pray God that he may have good success by it. He had written me to send you word to go into *Suffolk, Norfolk, or Huntingdonshire*. I answered him that you were a better judge than he of that, and that I should not do it. The truth is, that they envy your army.

Davenant has arrived; I have not yet spoken to him. On his return, he will inform you of many things which cannot be written, but I will not fear to write, and to let all the world see that I am truly and constantly

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, this 13th August, [1643].

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 155, Holograph.]

Cousin,

It is not ill done in a person who is expecting a siege to be able to write ; but at this time, so it is that I must coax you, in order that if the king do not come to help us, you may do it. However, I hope that we shall not cause you yet to quit Beverley, where it is said here that you now are. I must send you news about yourself, for you have sent us none. It is a long time since we heard Yorkshire spoken about, so that were it not that we repeat what we know about it, it would never be mentioned. I must scold you a little for not sending oftener, and also assure you at the same time, that I do not cease to be,

Your faithful and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, this 21st August, [1643.]

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

To the Duke of Hamilton.

[Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 241.]

The congratulations in this letter, seem to refer to the elevation of Hamilton to the dignity of a duke ; the peerages give the 12th of April as the date of the creation, but possibly some delay might arise in the completion or transmission of the patent.

Cousin,

As soon as I had occasion, since my arrival hither, to write to you, I resolved to do it, both to assure you of

all that I said to you at York, as also to tell you that I am none of the least sharers in rejoicing at the honour the king hath put on you. This is a mark of the confidence he hath in you, which I am assured you will make the world see, was founded on very good reason. The bearer is a person who will tell you more than I can write—to him I refer myself, and shall say no more, but that I am,

Your affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, 28th August.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 157, Holograph.]*

The victory recorded in this letter, was the very partial one gained by the king and Prince Rupert, over the forces of the Earl of Essex, at Newbury.

Cousin,

This bearer has staid so conveniently, that he can bring you the tidings of the victory we have gained over the rebels, of which I send you the account; and although it has not been a total defeat, nevertheless, it is a very great victory. It is true that we have lost in it a great number of honest men, who have performed wonders. I assure you, that our people whom I brought with me have not done badly, so that we may say, that an army from the North has helped in the defeat. I am

* A copy of this letter exists in Harl. MS. 7008, fol. 21.

so weary, not of being beaten, but of having heard it spoken of, that I will end by saying, that I am constantly
Your faithful friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, September 23rd, [1643].

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 158, Holograph.]

Rivalry in suing for places, and jealousy of the queen's all but omnipotent influence in their bestowal, were rife in the small court at Oxford. The Earl of Holland, who had returned to the king's cause, left it again in discontent, because his former post as groom of the stole was not restored to him, but given to the Earl of Hertford, as named in the following letter.

The Perfect Diurnal, 2-9 October, 1643, contains the following account of the capture, also alluded to, of Walter Montague, the queen's former chaplain and agent in France, who had ventured to England, in the suite of the French ambassador:—

“Information was given to the Commons, that Master Wat. Montague, according to the order of that House, was brought up to London, and committed to the Tower; whereupon they appointed a committee to go into him to the Tower, to take his examination. And the Commons then also had a more exact report made unto them of the manner of his first apprehending at Rochester, by Captain Lee, captain of the guard there, to this effect, viz.—That presently after Monsieur de Gressy,* the French

* This is a mistake. the ambassador was not Gressy, but his successor, the Comte de Harcourt.

ambassador's first landing at Dover, coming to pass Rochestr, Captain Lee went to him, to discover what retinue he brought with him; and the ambassador gave him a list of the names of all his chief gentlemen, there being about eighty persons of them in all, of his retinue—(but whether so many of them be eminent commanders for war, as I hear some report, I cannot affirm); and Captain Lee, well viewing all the said ambassador's retinue, observing one amongst the rest in a disguised habit, his face all besmutch'd, and having on a very great perriwig, was somewhat inquisitive to speak with him, and understand his name; which Master Montague (for so this disguised gentleman's name afterwards appeared to be) observing, went about to take horse and ride away; but Captain Lee stopping him, he presently discovered himself to be Mr. Montague, and was committed to custody: whereat the ambassador, expressing some discontent, went to the Earl of Warwick to endeavour his releasement, but finding he could not prevail, returned back to Dover, and stayed there some time.

“And the said Master Montague, being afterwards searched, there was found upon him divers letters of consequence; amongst the rest, a letter directed to the king, and another to the queen, which are also brought up to the Parliament.”

“The return of Montague, was said to afford a clear evidence to all the world of the great design in this kingdom for the Catholic cause, when such grand Jesuited Papists as this shall be brought over hither to have interview with both their majesties.”

Cousin,

It is so long since I received tidings from you, that I begin to think you fancy we are all dead here: this we are not; it is we who shall kill the other party. Notwithstanding the great rejoicings made at London, they find that they have lost their army. There are

many women of the citizens of London, who come to Newbury to seek their husbands, saying that my Lord Essex has told them that they were there in garrison. Since which, the king, all beaten as he is, has sent a garrison to Reading, and his excellency has not prevented them. Every day, forces from the Parliament come to join the king.

A misfortune has happened to me in which I believe you will sympathize: Wat. Montague is taken at Rochester, by the Parliament, on his way here with the ambassador of France. He chose to amuse himself before [the town], and has been recognized and taken. I think the ambassador will not come, for he has not done so yet.

There is one thing about which I want to be informed by you, before doing it. The *Marquis of Hertford* desires to be made groom of the stole to the king. If that be, he must cease to be governor to Prince Charles, so that we must place some one else about Prince Charles, which I do not wish to do, without first knowing whether you would wish to have it again; which I have thought could not be granted with the employment that you have. Nevertheless, I will await your reply, and if you are of the same opinion as I, there are two other places, and I desire to know which would be most agreeable to you, for I have nothing so much in my thoughts as to show you and all the world the esteem in which I hold you, therefore write frankly to me, as to a friend, as I am now doing to you, which you desire;—*chamberlain, or gentleman*

of the bedchamber. If I had chosen to act ceremoniously, I should have had this written to you by another, but that is all very well only where there is no esteem, such as I have for you; and as this is written with frankness, I request a reply of the same, and that you believe me, as I am, truly and constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, this 7th October, [1643].

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.]

The person whose loss is here deplored seems to have been the eldest son of the Marquis de la Vieuville, superintendent of French finance, who after being disgraced by the jealousy of Richelieu, was restored to his post on the death of the cardinal in 1643, and retained it till his death in 1653.

Cousin,

The death of the Marquis la Vieuville, has left me such a recollection, both of his merit, and of the services which he rendered me even to death, that I know not how to give proof of it, either to his father, or the rest of his family, except by the prayer I have made to the queen, my sister, for my sake to take them under her protection, and thus to help me to satisfy my great obligation; which I also ask from you, earnestly begging

you to contribute thereto, according to your power, and to believe that you will oblige one who is truly, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, October 22nd, 1643.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 168, Holograph.]

The errand of the Comte de Harcourt was, if possible, to negotiate terms between the contending parties, but it was rendered doubly difficult by two circumstances: the first was the interception of a letter from Lord Goring, then the queen's agent in France, to his "most blessed and sacred mistress," assuring her that he is "in nothing more happy than to be accounted traitor at London, considering his sacred mistress had the same badge of honour stamped on her before him."*

The title by which the Parliament was to be negotiated with, presented another difficulty. The newsmonger of the Perfect Diurnal writes the following week: —

* The Perfect Diurnal, 8-15th January, 1644, thus names the contents of this letter: — "The House of Commons spent a great part of the time in consultation of certain letters of great concernment, intercepted this day, coming from France; especially one from the Lord Goring (a great factor for Rome, and her majesty's agent in France) to the queen, wherein he gives account of his service in negotiating for her majesty in France; and tells her, that the Queen Regent is very zealous in her service, and also the cardinal, and have promised to assist her to the utmost, provided that Monsieur de Harcourt be entertained with all due respect by

“ One thing I had almost omitted, of a letter from Monsieur de Harcourt, to both Houses of Parliament, in answer to that business concerning the Lord Goring’s letter, whereof the Houses of Parliament had some debate yesterday; and chiefly about the direction of the said letter, which was thus described. ‘Messieurs Gray de Werke and Lenthal,’ but not one word of their further additions of ‘Speakers of the two Houses of Parliament of England.’ Which omission, however some be willing to excuse, for that the Monsieur is a stranger, or impute it to the neglect of his secretary—the Parliament have just cause to suspect favours rather of the design of the Lord Digby’s letter to Sir Hen. de Vic, intercepted, wherein you have these expressions, ‘that the king and his council had laid it for a maxim, for the advancement of his majesty’s designs, that neither he himself, nor any ambassador by his permission, must address themselves to the pretended Parliament, as a Parliament, which was a reason that the Prince de Harcourt was at an end with his addresses to the intended Parliament. And the Parliament, upon consultation of the said superscription, being so far sensible of the design in this particular, refused to accept of the said letter; but the Monsieur is every day expected back from Oxford, and then you shall hear further of this business.”

The following letter refers to his negotiation:—

Cousin,

I should sooner have dispatched this bearer, but I was waiting to send you word what is passing here. In

their majesties, of which he writes there are some jealousies in France, desiring her majesty in her next letters to be very careful to clear that point. That the said Monsieur, by his instructions from France, is only to address himself to their majesties, for such directions to treat with the Parliament as their majesties think fit; and that upon his return back to France, they will be

the first place, I will beg you not *to take the alarm*, and will assure you that there *shall be nothing done* which I am not assured *you will approve*. The French ambassador has *proposed an accommodation to the king*, and has asked leave that he may *listen to propositions*, in case they make him *any at London*, where he is gone to demand back Wat. Montague. The king, according to *all his own declarations*, has answered him, that he *would* always

ready to assist their majesties with men and other supplies, either in an offensive or defensive manner, according to the league betwixt them and France; and protesteth that he knoweth no impediment for the raising of men to send over hither, if their majesties take care for moneys to pay them after they are landed; and doth further assure them of the loan of six hundred thousand crowns in France, and to procure a great quantity of other provisions from Dunkirk, viz. — twenty thousand muskets, two thousand barrels of powder, four thousand swords, two thousand cases of pistols, five thousand carbines; and that there is shipping making ready in France to trade in the western parts of England, by whom they may expect a further supply of arms and ammunition; but writes withal, that the losses the French have sustained in Germany, and the invasion of Denmark by the Swedes, will be some impediments to her majesty's designs. That he also gives her majesty an account of his good success in pawning the jewels of the crown, and reckons up several large sums that have been paid for use-money for the said jewels, eight thousand pounds at a clap, and yet much more behind-hand, that speedy care must be taken to pay; and tells her that there is now only two table diamonds, two goblets of pearl, and the king's chain of pearl left unpawned. Lastly, he further intimates, that the queen is expected in France, though with child, as they hear there, &c."

listen to a peace, provided it were honourable for him. This is where the matter stands, and no farther advanced. As for me, I believe they are so haughty at London that they will make no propositions ; but in case they did make any the king would desire a cessation, which would be very advantageous for his affairs in these quarters ; therefore I should wish to know quickly whether that is suitable for your condition in the north—since, unless it be so, it will not be done, or else they will find means of doing it for here ; the truth is, that the king's army here needs it. Nothing shall pass of which I will not advertise you. I make no doubt, that if Parliament refuse a peace on honourable terms, France will declare for us, and it is by this means that she will do it.

I think this is enough in cipher for you, who are as yet only a learner in it, and I pity you for the trouble you will have with it. I beg you to send me a reply quickly, and to be assured that I shall ever be, constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R. 2

Oxford, this 10th February, [1644].

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Ibid. fol. 169, Holograph.]

Cousin,

Lord Nithisdale has begged me to write you, to thank you for your good treatment of his wife, and to

beg you to be pleased to continue it, which I do willingly, as he is a person whom I shall be very glad to oblige, and one very well affected to the king's service. I will say no more, except that I am constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, this 20th February, [1644].

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Ibid. folio 171, Holograph.]

The unexpected march of the Scots into England, in January 1644, was fraught with disastrous results to the royal cause. The Earl of Newcastle at first intended to stand a siege at Newcastle, and to this the queen alludes when she congratulates him on not being reduced to eat rats. But the march of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the great Parliamentary general, named in the postscript of of her letter, compelled him to return to York, and the more northerly counties fell into the hands of the enemy. The queen's letter breathes a prescience of coming disaster.

Cousin,

I have received your letter by Parsons, with the relation of all that has passed at Newcastle, and am very glad that you have not yet eaten rats. Provided that the Scotch do not eat "Yorkshire oat cakes," all will go on very well. I hope you will take care of that. I think you do not know that the Scots who were in Ireland have returned into Scotland, and that may be the cause of Lesley's having advanced, in hope that they would

march after him towards you; therefore, you have enough to take heed to. The commissioners from Ireland are arrived here. The design that you know of, of the Earl of Antrim, goes on very well; I think the Scotch lords have told it you. Above all things, do not let the Scotch have a taste of Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Fairfax is at Nantwich, as the prince sends word to the king, who is expecting infantry out of Lancashire. Essex and Waller, joined together, are advancing upon my Lord Hopton. You will hear very soon of some blow being given. There is no more hope of the treaties of peace, therefore nothing must be thought of but fighting well, and if you beat the Scotch, our affairs will be in very good condition, for as to the forces in these quarters, they are inconsiderable. You may judge so when they and Waller join to go against my Lord Hopton, who expects them with impatience.

You will know all the votes that have passed here in the two Houses, therefore I do not write you anything about them, and will conclude this letter by recommending to you always to take care of our "brethren of Scotland;" for those only can do us harm, and no others. But they are in safe hands, therefore I fear them not; otherwise, I assure you that I should do so. This is all that I have to say to you, and that I am constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Since my letter was written, we have tidings that Sir Thomas Fairfax is marching towards you, to join the Scotch. Therefore lose no time, and do not allow yourself to trifle, for if the Scotch pass the river Tees, I fear that there will be no more remedy. All is lost.

Oxford, this 15th March, [1644].

[To the Marquis of Newcastle.]

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 172, Holograph. French.]

Cousin,

I have received your letter by Tomkins, touching my Lord Ruthen, (?)^{*} that he desires to go into Germany. I hope that he will not leave us in the present state of our affairs, and that if anybody has said any foolish thing, he is too gallant a man to mind it. I hope you will stop him. I have seen the letter you wrote to Mr. Digby, touching the state of all your affairs, and of the enemy's forces, as also of your own; and by that, I judge that you have already done much, and that you will continue according to your resolutions. But by the way, give me leave to tell you that you are a little too angry, and have not sufficient confidence in your friends, to be able to believe, that the letter that Mr. Digby wrote to you had any other intention than to tell you what we heard, and then leave the rest, to let you do what you wished and thought suitable. If we had not

^{*} Ethen in MS.

the liberty of writing freely, all intercourse would be broken. Therefore, do not imagine that we design to do or to believe anything to your prejudice. And if you accuse me of scolding you by this letter, remember what I told you when I was at York, that I only scold my friends, and not those whom I do not care about. With this I end, hoping that this letter will reach you, when you have beaten the Scotch, and are in so good humour, that you will find nothing disagreeable, and also that you will believe that I am constantly,

Your faithful and very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Oxford, April 5th, [1644].

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet Opened, p. 29.]

The delicate situation of the queen rendered it now extremely important for her to be sheltered in some place more free from excitement and tumult than Oxford, around whose walls the Parliamentary forces were gathering with the intention to besiege it. On the 17th of April therefore, attended by Charles, she left Oxford for Abingdon, where she bade a sorrowful adieu to her husband. Yet how much more sorrowful had it been, could either have surmised that they were never to meet again in this world! The king then returned to Oxford, and Henrietta set out towards Exeter.*

My dear heart,

Fred. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Axbury, and the state of my health since my coming hither; I find myself so ill, as well in the ill rest

* Dugdale's Diary, p. 65.

that I have, as in the increase of my rhume. I hope that this day's rest will do me good; I go to-morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts; many of them are already returned. My Lord Dillon told me, not directly from you, though he says you approve it, that it was fit I should write a letter to the Commissioners of Ireland to this effect, that they ought to desist from those things for the present which they had put in their paper,* and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment. I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint, and also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise; for I should be very much grieved to write anything which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it to me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord Muskerry, without the rest, will be enough; for the letter which I shall write to him will be with my own hand, and if it be to all your commissioners, it will be by the secretary.† Farewell my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am,

Absolutely yours.

Bath, 21st April, 1644.

* These points were confirmation of their religion, and the permission to hold a free Catholic Parliament, not subservient to that of England.

† The following is the Parliamentary annotation on this important point in the letter: —

“Where observe the *underhand dealing* with the *Irish* in its first

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 92.]

My déar heart,

I send Crofts to you to render you an account of his journey; only there is one thing I must send you word, which you will take no notice of to Crofts, unless he speaks to you about it. There is a person of rank in France, who offers to me to come and serve you, and to bring you three thousand footmen, and one thousand five hundred horse, at his own expense, all old soldiers; and desires no other condition, but your word that when he shall have served you, you will recompense him according to his services. He would not have his name mentioned till he knows your pleasure, because if it were known, it might ruin him, and prevent him from serving

principles. It is first hinted between the king and Dillon in private, and then the king seems only to approve, rather than desire it. But this was ground enough for the queen to work upon; and therefore, being informed by Dillon concerning the king's inclination, (in whom it had not been policy to have seemed very eager), she intimates her readiness to manage the matter in her own name, if he please to signify how far he will condescend unto the Irish; which was (it seems) when time served, to give them all countenance, but in the mean time, they must be intreated to forbear such high terms for the present. Did ever any king, for a few poor *by-ends*, condescend thus to parley with most odious villians, and venture to make sale of religion and honour, to purchase assistance and amity from such barbarous rebels?"

you; therefore if you please, let it be kept very secret. He is a man of honour, and one who can do it.

Henry Jermyn writes more at length to Lord Digby, about other things that I have commanded him, my health scarcely permitting me to write.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Bridgewater, this 28th April.

To Sir Theodore Mayerne.

[Sloane MS. 1679, fol. 71 b.]

The queen was now approaching the period of her accouchement. The Parliament had granted her the courtesy of permitting her *trousseau*, with several attendants, to pass to her from London, but they declined a request for some further provision which was solicited in a letter from the Earl of Forth.

The Perfect Diurnal writes:—

“Another part of his letter, was to desire safe-conduct from Oxford to London for Mrs. Elizabeth Crofts, with a coach and six horses, a saddle-horse, and three men servants with their horses, under pretence to provide necessaries for the queen against her lying-in. But I hope that the late design of the Lady d'Aubigny, that brought the king's broad seal from Oxford, for that late wicked plot against the Parliament and city, is too fresh in our memories to admit of a new plot in the city, under pretence of giving safe-conduct to these she-Oxonians.”

Exaggerated reports of her illness were every where current. Some said that she had miscarried, others that she had given birth to a dead infant, which she had not survived, and that her last request had been, that her body might be brought to France, that it might not be made the scorn of the English Puritans.*

* Newspapers, April and May, 1644, Grotius to Oxenstiern Moser, *Historische Belustingen*, vol. x. p. 46.

The Perfect Diurnal, 13th May, says :—

“The queen, we hear certainly, is at Exeter, some say very sick. She sent this week to London for two other doctors to come to her, but for aught I hear, they have no list for the service, though the Parliament have given them leave to go.”

The wish was father to the thought in the latter part of this sentence. Mayerne at once obeyed the summons of the pathetic note which follows.

M. de Mayerne,

My indisposition does not permit me to write much to beg you to come, if your health permit; but my disease will invite you more strongly, I hope, than many lines would do. Therefore I will only say this, having always in my recollection the care you have taken of me in my necessities, which makes me believe you will come if you can, and that I am, and ever shall be,

Your very good mistress and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Exeter, this 3rd May.

Mayerne also received from the king, a brief but emphatic note—

“Mayerne, for the love of me, go to my wife.

“C. R.”

When the queen left England a few weeks later, Mayerne plainly expressed his belief that “her days would not be many.”*

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 93.]

The following is the first of a series of letters which Henrietta wrote to Charles I., at a time when extreme illness, both preceding

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. ii. p. 213. Maitland Club.

and subsequent to the birth of her infant, brought her to the very verge of the grave, and compelled her by degrees to relinquish all concern in public affairs. They are the letters of the wife to the husband, rather than of the queen to the king, and the circumstances under which they were written afford an additional guarantee to the truthfulness of the sentiments expressed.

Sir John Wintour, a physician who attended the queen from Oxford up to her leaving England, says she suffered from violent attacks of the mother, or hysterical affection, and from a consumptive cough.* Others reported it to be the palsy, a statement more in coincidence with her own description of her symptoms.

My dear heart,

I have so few opportunities of writing, that I will not lose this, which will I believe, be the last before I am brought to bed, (since I am now more than fifteen days in my ninth month,) and perhaps it will be the last letter you will ever receive from me. The weak state in which I am, caused by the cruel pains I have suffered since I left you, which have been too severe to be experienced or understood by any but those who have suffered them, makes me believe that it is time for me to think of another world. If it be so, the will of God be done! He has already done so much for us, and has assisted us so visibly in all our affairs, that certainly whatever way He may be pleased to dispose of me will be for your good and mine. I should have many things to say to you, but the roads are so little sure, that I should not dare to trust this letter, only I will beg you to believe what *Lord Jermyn* and *father Philip* will say to you from me. If

* Ellis's Letters, 3rd series, vol. iv. p. 303.

that should happen to me, it is a great comfort to me to have written this letter to you. Let it not trouble you, I beg. You know well that from my last confinement, I have reason to fear, and also to hope. By preparing for the worst, we are never taken by surprise, and good fortune appears so much the greater. Adieu, my dear heart. I hope before I leave you, to see you once again in the position in which you ought to be. God grant it! I confess that I earnestly desire this, and also that I may be able yet to render you some service.

Exeter, this 18th June, [1644].

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 98.]

On the failure of the mission of the Comte de Harcourt, the French Regent despatched an agent of inferior rank, M. de Sabran, to convey assistance to the king, and to try to compose the contending partisans. In his instructions, he was informed that—

“As to what can be judged of the state of affairs within the court, it is reduced to two things; the first, that the queen has influence and power over the king, as well from his love to her, as because she has influence over those who are in his particular confidence; amongst these the Earl of Bristol, and Lord Digby (father and son), seem the most accredited.* And again, that which is most important, and should be the continual object of M. de Sabran, is to consider the conduct of the king and his principal ministers, and to penetrate as far as possible the designs of the queen, which are ordinarily so veiled, that it is difficult to

* Sabran's Negoc. Addit. MS. 5460, fol. 30 b.

understand them; and as some indisposition with which she professes to be troubled serves her as a pretext, he must be so well informed of the state in which she is that he may, when opportunity offers, impress upon her, that for her own good, and that of her children, it is very necessary for her to remain in England, and that her leaving the kingdom would serve as a pretext for the English to condemn her.”*

Although his mission so much concerned the queen, yet as she had left Oxford before his arrival, Sabran was unable to go to Exeter to see her until the latter end of June, after the birth of her infant daughter, Henrietta, which took place on the 16th. He then reports, that “he found her majesty confined eight days before of a lovely princess, very weak, subject to a continual disease of the spleen, and a sort of paralysis.” Fearing not the taking of the city, but the noise of the cannon, which would be to her unendurable, she sent to Sabran to request him to ask Essex, whether he would guarantee her safe-passage to Bath, as the waters were essential to her; and he immediately waited on the Parliamentary general, and conveyed the queen’s request for a pass for Bath, without which she could not travel safely, as she had no army for her escort. His brief reply was, that that was no concern of his, and he did not say whether or not he intended to besiege her in Exeter.† The lapse of a few days left no doubt on this point, and a newspaper records —

“It is reported that the queen, understanding of my lord-general’s advances to Exeter, did send a trumpet to him, desiring him to forbear all actions of hostility against that city, in regard of the great weakness wherein the estate of her body at that present was, being but very lately brought to bed, and in great danger of her life. There are some of belief that the queen is not

* Ibid. fol. 36 b.

† Ibid. fol. 74.

yet delivered, but only useth this colour to divert, if she can, the siege of Exeter. But my lord-admiral lying not far off from it at sea, and my lord-general being before it on land, I cannot well conceive how either the city or herself can long hold without being surrendered to his hands."*

That this was the queen's own opinion, appears from the following pathetic letter.

My dear heart,

Up to this time, I was unwilling to trouble you with my complaints, having always hoped that time would remove my reasons for so doing, and because that would only grieve you: but when there is a probability of an increase of misery, it is well to prepare those whom we love to bear it. This then is what induces me to write you this letter about my condition, which compels me to it by the violence of more ailments, all at once, than either the state of my body, or that of my mind, depressed by the body, can support.

Since I left you at Oxford, that disease which I began to feel there has constantly increased, but with attacks so violent as no one ever felt before. I bore it patiently, in hopes of being cured by my accouchement; but instead of finding relief, my disease has increased, and is so insupportable, that if it were not that we ought not to wish for death, it would be too much longed for, by the most wretched creature in the world. And to render my condition complete, from three days before my confinement to this present time, Essex has been threatening us

* Diary Parl. 27th June.

with a siege, to which I cannot make up my mind, and would rather set out on the road towards Falmouth, to pass from thence into France, if I can do it, even at the hazard of my life, than stay here. I shall show you by this last action, that nothing is so much in my thoughts as what concerns your preservation, and that my own life is of very little consequence compared with that; for as your affairs stand, they would be in danger, if you come to help me, and I know that your affection would make you risk everything for that. This makes me hazard my miserable life, a thing which in itself is of very little consequence, excepting in so far as you value it.

You will perhaps wish to know the particulars of my disease; it is always a seizure of paralysis in the legs and all over the body, but it seems to me as though my bowels and stomach weighed more than a hundred pounds, and as though I was so tightly squeezed in the region of the heart, that I was suffocating; and at times I am like a person poisoned. I can scarcely stir, and am doubled up. This same weight is also upon my back; one of my arms has no feeling, and my legs and knees are colder than ice. This disease has risen to my head, I can not see with one eye. It has pleased God to prove me, both in body and mind. I trust in His goodness that he will not abandon me, and that He will give me patience.

Adieu, my dear heart.

The most miserable creature in the world, who can write no more.

From my bed, this 28th June, Exeter.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 96.]

My dear heart,

This letter is to bid you adieu. If the wind is favourable, I shall set off to-morrow. Henry Seymour will tell you many things from me, which the miserable condition in which I am does not permit me to write. I beg you to send him to me again to France, where, if God grant me grace to recover my health, I hope yet to serve you. I am giving you the strongest proof of love that I can give; I am hazarding my life, that I may not incommode your affairs. Adieu, my dear heart. If I die, believe that you will lose a person who has never been other than entirely yours, and who by her affection has deserved that you should not forget her.

I send you back my company, to be with you, and beg that it may remain undissolved, as long as I live, if I do not die during these troubles; and if you would give Brett a pension of two hundred pieces, you would oblige me extremely.* You are assured that during these times, he will never ask you for anything, and after the peace, he deserves a reward. I beg you also to please to

* Captain Brett afterwards did good service to the royal cause, and was made major of his regiment, which was drafted into the king's guards.

give the commission of Cansfield's brother-in-law, to that Colonel Tilsley; Cansfield cannot ask for it on account of his religion, and the other is the nearest relation the young man has, and one against whom there can be no objection; and Cansfield has served you so well, and will do so yet, that you should not refuse so small a thing. Also my lord marquis* has begged me to write to you for him, and to recommend him to you. It is a miserable condition in which he is. Well, adieu.

Truro, this 9th July, [1644].

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 99.]

Sir Francis Barrett, a Cornish gentleman, writing to his wife, on July 3rd, 1644, tells her that "here is the woofullest spectacle my eyes yet ever beheld on; the most worn and pitiful creature in the world, the poor queen, shifting for one hour's life longer."† And the contest did indeed for awhile seem to be for life, against the attacks of a deeply-seated internal malady, and of powerful external foes. The Parliamentary Diary, under the date of 25th July, thus records the setting-out of the queen's small fleet of ten ships, from Falmouth:—

"The first ship that put to sea was a Flemish man-of-war, after whom, warped out by degrees, nine more, who had most of them the advantage of oars to increase their speed. In the midst of them, there was discovered a galley with sixteen oars, in which

* Probably the Marquis of Newcastle, who was unable to cope with the Scots without the assistance which the king was equally unable to give.

† Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections*, vol. i. p. 17.

peradventure her majesty was embarked. Our ships receiving but late intelligence of it, did make what haste they could to overtake them; but being more heavy far in burden, they could not get the advantage of them. However, the Vice-admiral, the Warwick frigate, and the Paramour, three of the best sailors that we had, came close unto them in the pursuit, and bestowed a hundred cannon shot upon them."

The Parliamentarians greatly incensed the French Court by their boasting how they had chased and well nigh taken the queen, and by declaring that she would have "no other courtesy from England, but cannon-balls to convey her into France."*

The following day, July $\frac{16^{\text{th}}}{26^{\text{th}}}$, after many perils, Henrietta landed safely at Brest, in Bretagne, and at once sent off a messenger to the French Court to announce her arrival, and to request that two eminent physicians might be sent to meet her at Angers. Her requests were at once complied with; on the 5th of August, the physicians left Paris, and the Queen Regent despatched the Commander de Louvre, and after him, the Comte de Harcourt, whom Henrietta had known in England, to welcome her, and provide her with such necessaries as her distressed condition required.†

Under these circumstances, she thus addressed the king:—

My dear heart,

This letter will inform you that, after much trouble, I am arrived in this place, which is between Nantes and Angers, and where I have been forced to stay to-day, having had the fever all yesterday and to-night. This very hour it has left me, but I hope it is only accidental,

* Mercurius Pragmaticus, Oct. 19.

† Sir Richard Brown's Dispatches, Aug. 1644. Addit. MS. 12, 184.

and merely caused by the disease which has come into my breast, and also that it will rather do good to my old disease, which still continues as bad as ever. The physicians whom I sent for from Paris have arrived. I do not yet know whether they will order me to go to the waters and baths. There are still ten days' journey from hence, and I have already travelled twelve. H. Jermyn is gone on to Paris. I expect him back every day; on his return, he will write to you more fully. I will only tell you that I have been everywhere received with such honours and marks of affection by everybody, from the greatest to the least, as could not be imagined. I think you will be very glad of it.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Ancenis, $\frac{3\text{rd}}{13\text{th}}$ August 1644.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 92.]

Lord Jermyn visited the French Court on behalf of the queen, and returned to her, with a present of ten thousand pistoles in money, and a patent for a pension of thirty thousand livres a month, assigned to her as a daughter of France.

My dear heart,

I am very glad of this opportunity to let you know how I advance in my journey to go to the baths of Bourbon, where I shall drink the waters and then bathe, the physicians having considered it good for me. Thank God, I am a little better, and hope the waters will

prevent the dropsy which is feared. I am so well treated everywhere, that if my lords of London saw it, I think it would make them uneasy. Jermyn is returned from the court. I have commanded him to write to you, and will only tell you that I have very good cause to be satisfied. He will tell you particulars, for I am very weary.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Amboise, this $\frac{10^{\text{th}}}{20^{\text{th}}}$ August, 1644.

“Take heed of old acquaintance.”

The Perfect Occurrences, of 9th August, writes:—

“The queen, as it is certified by letters from Paris, hath not been in that city, but passing by it. Prince de Harcourt and two doctors also were sent out of Paris to meet her, and to go along with her to the king’s house, by the Bourbon waters, whither with them she will drink of those waters. But will the Bourbon waters cure her? There are other waters set open for her to drink, in the Protestant Church, the waters of repentance, the waters of the gospel to wash her from Popery. Oh that she would wash in these waters and be clean!”

From Amboise, the queen proceeded to Tours, where she was received in state on the $\frac{8^{\text{th}}}{18^{\text{th}}}$ August, and entertained in the archbishop’s palace, thence by Orleans and Nevers to Bourbon,* where she arrived on the $\frac{15^{\text{th}}}{25^{\text{th}}}$ of August, but in so weak a state, that she could not walk without the support of an attendant on both sides. Amongst other ceremonials of her reception, the Jesuits presented her with a copy of verses, intimating their hope that her arm and heart might be both relieved, and that Bourbon might prove

* Brown’s Despatch, 26th Aug.

a cure alike for all her woes. The queen is said to have replied significantly, on reading the verses, "This is very well done, but do still more," alluding to her hopes of pecuniary assistance from the Jesuits.*

To Charles I.

Ibid. fol. 90 b.

My dear heart,

If you have been long without receiving tidings from me, it has been because those by whom I had written have not been able to cross, and I was still delaying to send back Ned Villiers, till I received tidings from you, which I have not got since he came, except that this bearer has merely told me that he had left you very near Essex; he brought me nothing in the world from you. I would believe the cause to be, that those whom you have sent have been taken, for I would not add to all the ills I suffer, that of supposing that you think no more about me, which would be an evil surpassing all the others, though very great.

It is very necessary for your service that this man receive satisfaction and be paid, else it would be impossible for me to serve you here.

Jermyn will write to you more at length; my head is not yet strong enough to enable me to write much business; I will only render you an account of my health, which is one of the things to which I give most attention

* Perfect Occurrences, 27th September, and 4th October. Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 64.

for the present, that I may render myself more capable of serving you. I arrived in this place three weeks ago, much harassed by the long journey I had taken, having been an entire month always travelling, in very violent heats ; since my arrival, I have had a pain in my breast, which was obliged to be lanced, but of which I am now cured, as I hope, and have already drunk the waters ten days, and shall continue five more, and then I shall bathe, and take the *douche* bath, which is in English, "pump." I begin to hope that I shall not die, for I am already a little better, though this numbness still continues, and a redness like the measles, which has covered my whole body for three months, does not diminish. Still my head is a little relieved, and my body is not so large as it was. I do all I can for my life ; therefore, let me have often tidings from you to contribute to it, for believe me, they will do so. Now that I am better, I may tell you that I have been very ill, and that I never expected to see you again ; but God is pleased to preserve me still in this world, to serve you, as I hope. Adieu, my dear heart. Remember me to Charles ; send me his measure to have some arms made for him.

Bourbon baths, this $\frac{7^{\text{th}}}{17^{\text{th}}}$ September, 1644.

The queen was visited at Bourbon by her brother, the Duke of Orleans and his family, from which fact the following deduction was drawn by her enemies :—

"Our good queen is negotiating the marriage of her son with the Duke of Orleans' daughter. She sold her daughter to the

Prince of Orange for his money, and now would cast away her son for an army from France against us, but all will not do. Her physicians speak of her impossibility to live long.”*

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

[September, 1644.]

Cousin,

Although I hope to see you soon, yet I would not lose any opportunity by which I can renew to you the assurances that I have given you; and that I may not do so, I have begged this gentleman to thank you on my part for the care you take of me, and to tell you more particularly how much I am, cousin,

Your most affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 96 b.]

Towards the close of September, Henrietta Maria again touched at Nevers, in her route towards Paris, where she received joyful tidings of the king's success over the army of Essex in Cornwall. Her letter was accompanied by one in cipher from Jermyn, written in her behalf, the contents of which are given in the Parliamentary Diary: —

“This day (September 20th), it was advertised that the queen had written a letter to the king, wherein she certifies his majesty

* Baillie's Journals, Sep. 16th, 1644, vol. ii. p. 228.

of the proficiency of her health, and congratulates his late success in Cornwall, which had improved more her health than all the waters or the arts of France ; she doubteth not but his majesty will be able to defend himself this winter with advantage, and by the next spring, she will be able to answer his expectation of supplies. It much perplexeth her that, after so glorious a victory, he will set down before Plymouth, and not learn of his enemies to pursue an advantage: howsoever, if he would be sure to gain it in convenient time, it would be an excellent way to promote his majesty's service ; for, if he had gained once the possession of that fort, it would be of excellent advantage for the establishment of his own affairs already in the west, and for landing any necessary supplies from France. The king, it seems, whether by the council of war, or by the counsel of this lady, hath removed the siege from Plymouth, finding the siege would ask a great power to maintain it, and a long winter to endure it."

The following letter is dated Paris in the MS., but that is evidently a transcriber's blunder.

My dear heart,

If anything in the world can cure me, it would be Seymour's coming, for the joy I have felt on the defeat of Essex ; that enabled me to walk alone to speak to him, which I had not done before. I arrived yesterday in this place, having finished my waters which I took twelve days, and the bath a week, but without much relief. I am told to hope that I shall find it after some time ; they say that that is the way in which they usually operate. God grant it, or else I must remain very unfortunate, the pains which I endure being inexpressible ; and what troubles me most, is that this pain

renders me incapable of applying to any business. I do not neglect, however, doing what I can, and I try also to hide my disease, for I know well that those of London rejoice the more at it.

I have received at the same time three of your letters, one dated the 14th August, the others the 29th, and the 3rd of September. I should have dispatched Ned Villiers sooner, [but] I was still waiting the arrival of Seymour.

I refer to Henry Jermyn to write to you in cipher; it is not at this time in my power to do it, the weakness I have in my head prevents. This is why I shall not even reply to your letters which contain ciphers. Only I will tell you, that although I am well treated here, that will not prevent me from desiring to return to England. I have there what I have not here, that is YOU, without whom I cannot be happy, and I think I shall never have my health till I see you again. I am assured of satisfaction, which must assist health, and if God sends me enough to prevent my dying in my journey, and if your affairs do not retain me here, I shall not stay long, for I have no pleasure in the things of this world. Believe that, my dearest heart; it is the greatest truth. I begin to mark this letter by one, and shall go on to ten and then begin again, that I may see whether you receive all my letters. Do you the same thing.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, this $\frac{24\text{th September}}{4\text{th October}}$, 1644.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

Shortly after the date of her last note, another imposthume appeared in the queen's arm, which delayed her return to Paris. It is thus recorded in the English newspapers —

"This day there came intelligence from Paris, that the queen had an imposthume broke again upon her, which stayed her journey to Paris for the present, and that the French doctors have enjoined her to drink asses' milk every morning. A strong cordial for a queen, but we have had much experience of it in England! Somebody makes us asses here, that they may drink our blood. God divert their malice."*

Being detained at Nevers, she thence addressed Cardinal Mazarin.

Cousin,

I am very glad of the opportunity of Madame Hebert, by this letter, to congratulate you on your recovery. I assure you truly, that I shall yield to no one in the joy which the knowledge of it has afforded me, which she has promised to tell you; therefore referring myself to her, I will not say more, and will conclude with this assurance, that I am sincerely, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Nevers, October 19th, 1644.

* Perfect Occurrences, 18th October.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The following letter refers to the well-known duel between the queen's spirited little dwarf, Geoffrey Hudson, and Will. Crofts, which is thus named in contemporary newspapers.

Perfect Passages, October 23rd and 28th —

“By letters from France, it is certified that Will. Crofts, the queen's great favourite's brother, upon some displeasure conceived against him by little Jeffry, the queen's dwarf, with her in France, was by him slain; his brother being captain of the queen's life-guard, and master of her horse. It appears the challenge was sent by Jeffry, that they fought on horseback, and Jeffry, running his horse in full career, shot his antagonist in the head, and left him dead on the spot.”

Cousin,

I wrote to the queen, my sister, about a misfortune which has happened to my house, of Geoffrey, who has killed Croft's brother. I have written the whole affair to the commander, in order that you may hear of it. What I wish is, that as they are both English, and my servants, the queen my sister will give me authority to dispose of them as I please, in dispensing either justice or favour, which I was unwilling to do, without writing to you, and asking you to assist me therein, as I shall always do in all which concerns me, since I profess to be, as I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Nevers, October 20th, 1644.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 6988, fol. 177,* Holograph.]

The following generous letter was addressed to Henrietta's former friend, Lord Newcastle, who, after the defeat of his northern army, through the rashness of Prince Rupert, at Marston Moor, had thrown up his commission in disgust. He ultimately took refuge from the persecutions that beset him in England, in Henrietta's small court at Paris.

Cousin,

I received a letter from you, when I was at the Baths of Bourbon, which I answered ; and another by Basset, since my arrival at Paris, which I shall answer by this, and shall assure you of the continuance of my esteem for you, not being so unjust as to forget past services upon a present misfortune. And therefore believe that I shall always continue to give you proofs of what I tell you, and let me know wherein I may be useful to you, and you will see how I shall behave, and with what truth I am,

Your very good, and affectionate friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

Paris, November 20th, 1644.

* There is a copy of this letter in Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 12.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 89 b., 43 b.]

Early in November, Henrietta Maria, after paying a visit to Fontainebleau, once more entered the good city of Paris, but with feelings how different from those with which she quitted it nearly twenty years before, a hopeful, blooming bride. A contemporary journal writes, that—

“The queen, somewhat improved, was brought into Paris the last week with a great deal of triumph, on the right hand of the Queen Regent of France, and with pageants; in Faubourg St. Jacques, and other places of the city, there was great triumph, at her return to Paris from the Bourbon waters, and Fontainebleau, where she hath been since she came from Bourbon; but the queen is still very weak and ill, like one in a deep consumption.”*

Sir Richard Brown, the English resident in Paris, speaks of her health in more favourable terms. In his despatch of March 12th,† he writes—

“The manner of her majesty’s entry and reception in this city is so fully set down in this enclosed printed relation, that I need not make any repetitions. I will only observe to your lordship, that the external and ceremonious part seems generally to be grounded upon an inward sincerity and affection;—the speeches made to her majesty, all of them bearing not only great professions to her majesty’s service, and approving the justice of his majesty’s cause, but also declaring an utter detestation against the proceedings of the London Parliament for their disloyal and rebellious actions—those, and the like terms being frequent in all their harangues. Her majesty’s health (God be praised) improves daily, to the perfecting whereof, the kindness of this court, the love of this people, and her being now (after her long travel) settled for some time in a place of repose, will greatly contribute.”

* Perfect Occurrences, 8th November.

† Addit. MS. 12,184, fol. 329.

Before their parting, Charles and Henrietta had arranged a fresh cipher, and from this time, the business-parts of the queen's letters, which were written by Lord Jermyn, are given entirely in cipher, without a single word to give a clue to the pages of figures. The queen's own use of cipher, owing to her delicate health, was very limited. The following two letters, the joint production of the queen, and of Lord Jermyn on her behalf, must be regarded as one. The cipher portion in the queen's letter is not deciphered in the original; that in Lord Jermyn's, is written in English, and has the cipher interlined. The only variation adopted here is, as before, that of throwing the words, "the king, the queen, her majesty," as used by Jermyn, into the form of personal pronouns.

My dear heart,

I have received three of your letters all together by *Sabran*; I send you this, of which you will receive another copy by *the ambassador of Portugal*. I will only tell you that I am arrived at Paris, and that I lose no time. In a very few days, I will send you an express, by whom I will write you fully. The three letters I have received are dated from Sherbourne, 7th October, Salisbury, 16th, and Whitchurch, 20th. I have also received others by a French cavalry captain, some time ago, to which I have not replied, being ready to go to Paris. *Jermyn* will write *you* that which will be too long for me.

Thank God, I begin to feel like myself again, and my health is much better, though not yet quite good. Nevertheless, I hope that in spring I shall recover it entirely, provided that I have the hope of seeing you again soon; for without that, there is neither medicine nor air that

can cure me. This is most true, and that nothing could please me where you are not. If it were not for the comfort I have in being able to serve you better here than in England, for the present, I should have none, though I am treated extremely well here, as you shall know more particularly by the first opportunity, therefore I will say no more on this subject. I hope you will not forget me. I could not be happy were it so. Adieu, my dear heart, the courier is in haste, which makes me conclude.

November 18th.

*“ Cardinal Mazarin’s sickness hath hitherto delayed all resolutions. To-morrow, Lord Jermyn is to speak with him, touching all your business, and according to the conclusion, you shall be advertised by an express. Powder, arms, and I hope some money will instantly be had; the rest is not yet determined. There is nothing so certain as that I do take all pains I can imaginable to procure you assistance, and am as incapable of taking any delight, or being pleased with my being here, though I have all kind of contentments, but as I hope it may enable me to send you help. I am marvellously well used and obliged by the Cardinal Mazarin, in the highest degree.

Your letter, and three of yours by Sabran were received. Your express you mention is not come. Colster, who brought me hither, is returned to us to be disposed of by me: he shall convey what we shall presently procure, and bring us back the tin, if we find

* The following is Lord Jermyn’s portion.

means to send for any.* In a day or two, we shall dispatch an express, and by him you shall be entertained at large. We have flying rumours, of a defeat given you near Donnington, but know not what to believe—we fear much. I know not what need you may have, nor can say what will here be had, only this be assured of, there is not, nor shall be ever, any diligence omitted, nor delight admitted from any earthly thing, but the serving to the supplies of your wants: assure yourself of this. God prosper us in it and you. I am,

Yours,

(Countersigned)

H. JERMYN.

November 18th, 1644.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 92 b.]

The queen's residence in the French court was one long struggle with wearing anxiety about her husband, on the one side, and with diplomatic difficulties and dilatoriness on the other. Overflowing with eager desire to render him prompt and effectual help, she was met, at every step, by barriers of policy which she could not surmount, nor could she infuse into others the energy which pervaded her own spirit. The latter part of the business-portion of the present letter is wanting: it is continued in the MS. by the fragment of an earlier letter in a different cipher. Being for the most part written by Jermyn in his own person, it is transcribed as the cipher was written.

* The queen was endeavouring to raise money by the sale of the profits of the Cornish tin-mines, which formed part of the Crown revenue.

My dear heart,

I had written you two letters which you will receive by this opportunity, not having been able this time to send them by those who, you will see, ought to have gone the first, not desiring to send them, lest they should be taken ; and the other arrived too late to be put in the packet.

We hear here, that you have been beaten by Waller. I believe it not. You would do well, often to let us have tidings. The rebels lose no opportunity of publishing all that can be to your disadvantage. I cannot yet, by this opportunity, send you anything in reply to all you have written me, not having been able as yet to obtain the necessary reply from others ; but I hope that in a very few days, you will know the reply, by an express whom I shall send you. Meanwhile, do not think this is my fault, nor that you do not receive letters from me, for it is a punishment severe enough to me, not to be able to write, which is the greatest satisfaction I now have ; and do not think that this is a compliment : it is the greatest truth, with which I shall conclude, begging you to kiss Charles and James for my sake, who am,

Entirely yours.

You may read to Prince Rupert, what Jermyn writes you in cipher.

Paris, this $\frac{11\text{th}}{21\text{st}}$ November, 1644.

The following must be regarded as a supplement, written by Jermyn at the queen's dictation : —

“That which is to be added to her majesty’s letter is what hath been at this time obtained ; she having spoken only of those things that yet are in suspense, yet in very good hopes of producing good effects. She hath desired of the Queen Regent, a help of money to be able to satisfy to three things that seemed very pressing : one to send a supply of money and arms to his majesty ; the the other for the tin ; the third for the jewels in Holland, which last is so necessary that, without a care of that kind, they will be involved in such difficulties, as it will be impossible to get out of. To this, it has been answered, that it was not possible for them at the present, to furnish a considerable sum, but some arms will be given ; and, therefore, because her majesty thought his majesty would be gladder to have a little money than arms, and that Hardonck has advertised her he is ready to part with a very considerable proportion, she hath turned the arms into money, and in regard of their necessities, did accept four months’ advance of her pension for the tin, and for the dispatch of Bispan’s business ; which hourly we look for, but, by the way, it would have been long delayed if they had not known that his majesty was to be supplied out of it. They have also promised great sums of their own of money. Besides, they have granted to her the trying whether the clergy of France will be induced to give her anything, which is a matter of little hopes. Twenty-four thousand pistoles and a dispatch of Bispan’s business is now needed, and will be,—as soon as the money is touched, which hourly is expected,—converted by equal proportions to the three purposes mentioned. Colster is here, who shall be sent, and Mr. Pooley for that concerns England, and Dr. Goffe to Holland, with such further instructions as will belong to the other business, in that part wherein the advice of this is taken ; but of this you shall hear more next week. The letter from Whitchurch is the last that hath been received here from you—sure, you send them too seldom. Dr. Goffe, in his way to Holland, shall see Hardonck dispatch his arms ; and

there is gone lately to the west good proportions of powder and match, upon their master's adventure, so that if there be any care of them, there can be no want. Recommend the care of that*

* * * * *

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 45.]

The following letter was put into cipher by Jermyn from the queen's French draught. The "affair of the Prince of Orange" was a proposal on the part of Henrietta to marry her eldest son to a daughter of the Prince of Orange, on condition that the marriage-portion of the princess should be immediately paid, in order therewith to provide the sinews of war for Charles I. On this mission, Dr. Goffe was sent into Holland, and his correspondence with Lord Jermyn, in the same cipher used by the king and queen, is still preserved in the French Correspondence, State Paper Office. Some portion of the correspondence is published in the Ludlow Memoirs.

I make use of every opportunity I can to send you tidings of myself, and I cannot do it with my own hand, because it is necessary for all to be in cipher; my head does not permit it yet, but I have already written this myself beforehand, and then I have it put into cipher — also because it was not proper that this should be in a hand that is known; in case of its being taken, let those to whom it is sent say it is [not] theirs. Last week I promised you to inform you further this week, but I cannot, not having been able to speak to Cardinal Mazarin; only I will soon send you some arms, and a little money. Cardinal Mazarin pro-

* Left unfinished.

poses to me to send to the Duke of Lorraine, to try if I could not persuade him to bring you his troops, which I am going to do. France undertakes to pay them, for it would be a benefit to France if they could get him to withdraw from the service of Spain.

The Irish here make me many propositions ; but, till I have proposed them to Cardinal Mazarin, I will not write you anything about them, nor about the affair of the Prince of Orange ; only be assured that I lose no time, and that the only pleasure I have, is to labour for your affairs. You will receive this same letter by another route. Take care often to let me hear tidings from you ; it is nearly two months since I have had any. Write to the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin, as I sent you word by other letters ; but I repeat it, in case that they are not arrived. You must call him “my cousin,” and at the bottom, “your affectionate cousin.” By the number of my letters, you will see that I lose no time.

Paris, 3rd December.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 30 b.]

This letter is entirely in cipher undeciphered, and the end of it is wanting.

I have not found the means of engaging France as forwardly in your interest as I expected, to assist you with men at present, not having themselves [enough] for their present necessities, having much on their hands ; as also in the proposition for a league which I have had made, to which I have yet had no reply. As to what

concerns men, Cardinal Mazarin will do all he can that they may be had by the Duke of Lorraine, as I have already sent you word; (in case he is willing to lead his army to serve you, France will pay them); or else by the Irish, [or troops] of the Prince of Orange; and to that effect, I am about despatching to the Duke of Lorraine and into Holland. And as to Ireland, I will send you very soon an express to bring you propositions; but meanwhile, do not fail to do your very utmost for a peace with the Irish. I have written you about this. Lord Jermyn will write you some other opinion, only I will tell you that their intentions generally are good towards us, and that there is nothing but their own necessities to prevent them from giving us everything we could desire.

I know not whether you have received any of my letters; this is the tenth I have written since I have had any from you, and all the news that I have is only by the London Gazettes. Tell Prince Rupert, that I cannot write to him by this road, because it is necessary for all to be in cipher; there must not be more than one letter, and that sent quite open to Paris; and so say to Digby, Culpepper, and Ashburnham. Jermyn conceives Edin-
burgh * * * * *

Paris 18th December.

To Colonel Fitz-Williams.

[Husband's Collections, p. 861.]

The *veraxa questio* of the concessions authorised by Charles I. to the Earl of Glamorgan and others, to be granted to the Irish Catholics, is too important to be entered upon here. It is probable from the tenour of the queen's correspondence, that she expressed her approbation of the following propositions, and her willingness, apart from the king's consent, to forward their acceptance. She communicated the propositions to him immediately, though she had cause afterwards to repent her rashness, for Hartogen, the main agent of the Irish Catholics, was found out to be a knave. The king seems to have suspected the queen of too close connection with the Irish, and alludes to it in several of his letters.

The exact date of this letter does not transpire, but it is evidently before the period at which Hartogen's conduct became suspicious, and the subject was probably that referred to by the queen in the preceding letter. The propositions, to which the queen's letter is a reply, were as follows:—

“Col. Fitz-Williams humbly prays and propounds as followeth: That your sacred majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate Catholics in Ireland, at least in private; that upon the consideration thereof, Colonel Fitz-Williams humbly propounds and undertakes, with the approbation of Mr. Hartogen, now employed agent for the said confederate Catholics in Ireland, to bring an army of ten thousand men or more of the king's subjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for the king's service into England.

“That Colonel Fitz-Williams undertakes, for the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, to levy, ship, and arm the said ten

thousand men, and so proportionably for more or less ; and that the said money may be paid into such hands as may be safe for your majesty, as well as ready for the said colonel, when it shall appear the said army shall be in readiness to be transported into England. That, upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muster, for the present support of the army. That Colonel Fitz-Williams may be commander-in-chief thereof, and dispose of all the officers, and only be commanded by the king, prince, and —, and qualified with such benefits as have been formerly granted unto your majesty's generals, that have commanded bodies apart from the king's own army, as the Earl of Kingston and others, whereby the better to enable him in the levies, as well as in the general conduct of the business. And in respect the order gives no power to the Irish, therefore that the said forces shall not by any order whatever be divided, at least that the Colonel may be supplied with a body of two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing. That the colonel may be provided with arms and ammunition, or with money requisite for himself to provide necessary proportions for to bring with him. That the army shall be paid as other armies of the king."

To these propositions the queen thus replied —

Having taken these propositions into consideration, we have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto, under our sign manual, assuring what hath been desired of us therein shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the satisfaction of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, and of the said colonel; so that we may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly, from all parties, in their several concernments.

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7879, fol. 95.]

The queen's letters, during the next few months, might be read advantageously in conjunction with those of the king to her, printed in the "King's Cabinet, Opened," in which they are for the most part answered; but as those letters have appeared repeatedly in print, it has not been thought advisable to re-produce them at any length here.

My dear heart,

Three days ago, I received one of your letters, dated 26th November, old style. It was more than a month since I had received any before. I know not whether you have received any of mine, of which I have written nine, since Ned Villiers left. If you have got them, it seems to me that you might reply by the same way: it is a cruel anxiety to know nothing of you, but by the London prints, and a thing also that is very prejudicial to your service; for it must be believed here, either that I have very little intelligence, and that in consequence they need care little about me, or that we have so little wit as not to find out inventions [to send letters;] and both will be injurious to your affairs here, for if they do not believe me to have credit with you, no trust will be placed in me: and, as to the other, the conduct of all that is doing in England is so strangely represented to them, that they think those who are about you do not wish your power, although they do not desire your ruin, and I have much trouble to persuade them to the contrary; and

also they have not all the ingenuity in the world in serving you; and when they see that I am so ignorant of what is doing over there, that makes them think that there is no desire for me to know it. What I tell you is merely for your own service, for I, who have cause enough to be satisfied with the love you bear me, do not indulge these imaginations; but that does not satisfy those with whom I have to do.*

By this bearer, I expected to send you some money, but that will not be for this time. He will tell you the reasons of it, as also many things which would be too long to write, and about the good treatment I receive here from the queen and the cardinal, who testify to me

* In a subsequent letter, not extant, the queen reverts to this subject with greater warmth, and expresses a fear that there is a wish to hide something from her.

In the king's reply, he professes his disbelief that the infrequency of his letters by Pooley, can be of the consequence she supposes, though it is not his fault, as their numbers will testify, "but to imagine," he says, "that anybody here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse me to say it), is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it; and for my assertion to thee, it is not the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question."

A few days later, in reply to a similar complaint, he adds:—"I protest to God, I never heard thee spoken of but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance; and indeed if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance."—King's Cabinet, Opened, pp. 23, 15.

the greatest affection for you in particular. I will therefore say no more, except to conjure you to take more care of yourself than you have done : you risk yourself too much, and that almost kills me when I hear of it, and in the weak state I am at present, much less than that may do me great harm. Therefore, if not for your own sake, yet for mine, take care to preserve yourself. I hope in spring to recover my health. The physicians give me hopes of it ; and till then, they say, I must have patience. I have still that numbness through my whole body, although I walk pretty well, and for that drowsiness in the head, I only have it very rarely, but I am very weak. I thought the air of France would cure me, but it needs also a little of that of England.

Adieu, my dear heart.

It is necessary that you send back this bearer as soon as may be, to bring you back some money. He will tell you why you could not have it now.

Paris, this $\frac{13^{\text{th}}}{23^{\text{rd}}}$ December.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 84 b.]

My dear heart,

I take this opportunity [of writing] by Dr. Calladon, who has also begged me to write to you, that you would be pleased to give him the place of Doctor Chambre, who is dead ; I think he has sufficient pretensions to it, since he is already in my son's service, and also since I think him

a very good physician, which is what you are at present much in want of. He shows himself very zealous for you; otherwise I would not recommend him to you. He will tell you the state of my health. I wrote you two days ago, at great length by Pooley. What I have to say is that I forgot to send word that the queen has sent to give a command to Augier* to leave France at once. I am under such great obligations to the queen and the cardinal, they are so kind to you and to me, that nothing could be more so. Adieu, my dear heart. Let me hear from you as often as you can. I have no joy in the world but that.

Paris, this 27th December, 1644.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 82 b.]

I am now answering what I understand by the letters I receive from Secretary Nicholas, for I receive none from you, although it seems to me that I might do so by the same means. I understand that you have sent the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, to London, to treat of a peace,* and that you have given the title of "Parliament of England." Although I approve the thing, yet I cannot help being astonished, remembering that when you were resolved to make a little council of four, you showed me a paper in which were many things about which you would never relax, of

* The agent sent to Paris from the English Parliament.

† This was the overture which terminated in the treaty of Uxbridge.

which this was the first ; and nevertheless you have done it, which gives me cause to fear that all the rest will follow also, which as it seems to me, would not be very honourable to you ; the more because you never informed me of it, and therefore, from what you have told me, I have always assured them here that you would never do it. It is a thing very prejudicial to all your affairs here, for them to see that you do the contrary of all that I say, for they believe I have so little credit as to know nothing of your resolutions. I fear that will render me incapable of reaping the advantages I hoped for from hence, and will make me henceforth learn to say nothing, since you are not resolute in your designs ; for the thing of all others that has already most injured you here was your having this reputation, which I tried with all my might to remove, and this affair has undone all that I had done. Permit me to tell you, that you cannot excuse yourself [from writing] because the ways are so difficult. Every week I receive letters from Secretary Nicholas, and you might send by Petit. Do not think that I write in anger ; it is only my fear of not succeeding here, as I hoped, and that by your own fault, and that I think you would be as sorry as I, if it were through want of intelligence. But you see that there is a way, and now that you know it, I doubt not but that this will happen no more. Take care of your honour, which is to remain constant in the resolutions that you have taken, and in comparison of that, think of nobody. This is all that I desire.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, December 30th, 1644.

To this letter, the king sent the following reply,* which has not hitherto appeared in print. It is similar in tenor to a letter written to the queen, on January 2nd, and printed in "The King's Cabinet Opened."

Dear heart,

I have sent [the] bearer, Mr. Talbot, to try if he can procure me from Venice, that which for the present I have most need of,—money, for the speedy and handsome conveyance of part of which hither, he will propose to thee somewhat wherein thou may assist, wherefore I desire thee to give him a favourable hearing. He will likewise give thee a full account of my affairs here, whose report thou may trust, both for his knowledge and honesty; and laying other things aside I will intend nothing now, but how to stand clear in thy thoughts, of being neither negligent in writing to thee nor inconstant to my ground. For the first, I know thou wilt be satisfied before this can come to thee; for the other I hope Digby's long despatches will satisfy thee that what I have done in naming those at London "Lords" in a Parliament, is at most a ceremonial, not real error; and of this I will assure thee, that if I had not done it, the breach of the treaty had been laid upon me, even by my own party. Now, whether I had not reason to do as I did, rather than to incur that censure, I leave thee to judge, especially when all my council unanimously avowed, that by it I did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament, which accordingly is registered in the council-books. Of this I will say no more, but assure thee that no danger, or which is worse, necessitous condition, shall make me recede from any of my old ground: of this, if thou be not confident, and make others timely so too, I may possibly be commended too late for my constancy, when my misfortunes shall make me capable of nothing else. But I shall sooner feel than believe any such misfortune, knowing the justice of my cause, and that I am, &c.

Oxford, December, 1644.

* Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 43.

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet Opened, p. 30.]

I have received one of your letters, dated from Marlborough, of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer. I will say nothing concerning this, but only concerning the affair of Goring;* if it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour, and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and, if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also, I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guard; for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat, for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you. And if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland or any other Catholic prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself.†

* Probably the creation of Goring, as Earl of Norwich.

† The following note is by the parliamentary annotator:—

“ Here she insinuates to the king the preservation of those who

I have despatched an express into Scotland to Montrose, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to M. de Lorraine, and into Holland. I lose no time. If I had more of your news, all would go better.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, January.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 91.]

My dear heart,¹

This bearer having desired to go and join you to serve you, is on his return from Holland, whence many have served him, lest they should forsake him in his need; and these (if you reflect upon the contents of the former letter) are divided into bishops and catholics. She endeavours to persuade him from all peace, but such a one as will admit of them: intimating also unto him the necessity of a guard for his person hereafter, (as one says) *a-la-mode de France*, no less than a whole regiment: and also that there will be the like necessity for herself, complaining of malice against her and her religion, and recommending the care of both unto him. Finally, she pleads a point of policy, that religion should be the last thing insisted on in the treaty; but there will need no such provisional consideration for after-claps, as is by her pretended, if peace with truth were once firmly established, which was the sole aim and desire of the Parliament, and should have been also of the king; and therefore it was their way (and the most sincere way) to begin with religion first: for if we should have our just desires in all the rest, and yet fail of that in its purity, we should receive no more comfort in the possession of them than in grasping the air."

have recommended him to me as a person who has done very well in that country, which makes me write to you for him, that if any opportunity should offer, you may be pleased to employ him. That being the only subject of my letter I will not make it longer, except to add that I am

Entirely yours.

My son-in-law

*

*

Paris, this 10th January, 1645.

The rest is wanting.

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet, Opened, p. 31.]

When the proposition for peace was made, it was suggested that the king should go up to London to treat in person with his Parliament.

Fearing lest the queen should be disturbed by the reports of his offering the rebels a peace upon bare and unsafe terms, he writes to assure her that he will be careful of her reputation, and to explain the grounds which induce him to give ear to the proposal of going up to London, to treat with the rebel-commissioners, but promising great caution in such a step. "This," he adds, "I hope, will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do anything unworthy of thy love."*

* King's Cabinet, Opened, p. 11.

To this letter the queen replied as follows; her letter is given with the Parliamentary annotations.

My dear heart,

Tom Elliott two days since, hath brought me much joy and sorrow; the first to know the good estate in which you are, the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs. But thanks be to God, to-day I received one of yours, by the ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge.* For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people. And if you ever go to London, before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army. If you consent to this, you shall be lost; they

* "Here you see how she was perplexed concerning the king's coming to London, about the time of the treaty: but there was no great cause of fear for that; for the king tells her in a letter, dated in December, before the treaty, that the sound of his return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had; or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to us, and advantages to himself: so that this noise which they raised a little before the treaty began, of the king's coming to London, was (as the king himself interprets it in his letter to Tom Elliott, which I desire the reader to compare with this) a very plot to bring on a treaty for by-ends; and so cunningly laid, that the refusal on our side would prove extremely prejudicial."

have the whole power of the militia ; they have done, and will do whatsoever they will.

I received yesterday letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business ; and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire ; and that I will hazard my life, that is to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor Catholics.* Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to

* “ In the first place, the Parliament sticks in her stomach ; till that be ended, she cannot hear or think of his going to London ; as if to come to his Parliament, were the ready way to ruin. Secondly, she disclaims against the disbanding the army, and endeavours to foster still that conceit which first caused this unnatural war, how that the Parliament is not to be trusted with the militia ; though we seldom read (or not at all) that any of his predecessors were of the same humour, as not to rely, in imminent dangers and all weighty affairs, upon the counsel and fidelity of that (of all other most infallible) court of parliament. And lastly, to encourage him in the acceptance of such dangerous advice, she talks with confidence of the Duke of Lorraine’s ten thousand men ; whence must he bring them ? from the man in the moon ? Yet, she assures him not only of these, but money also ;

write, not being able to do it yet myself in ciphers. Show to my nephew Rupert, that I entreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him ; I know not how to send great packets.

The following extracts from the king's letter to the queen, of February $\frac{15\text{th}}{25\text{th}}$, touch upon the most material points in this.

"There is every day less hopes than other, that it [the treaty] will produce a peace ; but I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow that without thy company, I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself."

"I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London ; for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit, of which persuasion Percy is one of the chief."

"There is little or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet ; and be confident that in making peace, I will ever show my constancy in adhering to the bishops and all our friends, and forget not to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament."*

may, and that she will rather die by famine, than not to send to him. But wherefore is all this zeal ? not out of any desire of service for himself or his religion, so much as to oblige him in the behalf of Episcopacy and Popery."

* King's Cabinet, Opened, p. 6.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 21.]

This letter was written by the queen herself, entirely in cipher, the signature is the cipher which indicates the queen of England

My dear heart,

I have received your letter by Tom Elliott, and since him, others by the ambassador of Portugal, to the last of which I will now send a reply, and I beg you to let it also serve for that of Digby, because of the time that presses. I will only say to you, that Tom Elliott has satisfied me as to what concerns the Parliament; and as to your saying that my last letter accuses you of not writing, when I wrote I had some reason to complain, not receiving any letters from you; but since, I have received many, which show me that it was not your fault. I entreat you to continue, it being the only consolation I have.

I will despatch an express to you in five or six days, to bring you the copy of the letter that the Duke of Lorraine wrote me, with that of Vic to Jermyn, by which you will see the reasons we have for hoping for help from that quarter. All that I have to say to you is, that you take care not to make a disadvantageous treaty, for you will never replace yourself in the condition you are now in, if you do so. Remember that I have always been afraid of the assembly at Oxford, and I am so still—it seems to me, that cunning is no longer of any avail. I have long ago recommended the bishops to you, and those who are your servants, who have suffered for you,

and not to dismiss your army till all is concluded, and not to go to London till the Parliament is ended.

Think of Ireland. There is a secretary of the Catholics, who is come from them, who [says] that the peace is not made as you expected. Tell Digby that I am not angry with him, as they would persuade him at Oxford. There are as many reports at Paris, if I would believe them, as in any place in the world ; and above all, take care not to assist in deceiving yourself in the treaty, as we have done before in many things, of which we have repented afterwards, but too late, as of the perpetual Parliament. This peace is as dangerous, if you do not take close heed to it, and do it for my sake, for according to what it is, shall I consent (?) or not to my return, which is the only hope that makes me live, that of seeing you again.

Adieu, my dear heart,

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Paris, 14th February.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 8.]

In a letter to the queen of 9th January, Charles writes :—

“I forgot in my former, to tell thee that Lenthall the speaker, brags that Cardinal Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him ; though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am sure that either he, or his instructions, are not right for him who is

“Entirely thine.”*

* The kings suspicions of Sabran's doubtful policy, occur in another later letter.

To this, and other points connected with the pending treaty, the following letter is a reply :—

My dear heart,

I have received your letter dated the 10th of January, by the ambassador of Portugal; by Sabran, I have only received one since I wrote you by him, last month although I have always written as often by him as by the ambassador of Portugal, except the two last posts; for I begin, as well as you, to suspect, by what you write me, about the intelligence of the Cardinal with the Speaker, and I will try to discover it; but I believe it, for they pretend here that it is for your service, to stand well with the Parliamentarians; and, provided they do what we desire, there is no great danger. Take care to preserve

“ Dear heart,

“ By Sabran’s conveyance (whom I dispatched Sunday last), I hope before this can come to thee, thou wilt receive three letters from me; who, although he condemns the rebels’ proceedings as much as any, yet he declares in his master’s name a positive neutrality; so that either he complies not with his instructions, or France is not so much our friend as we hope for. I rather think the latter, yet I doubt not but thy dexterity will cure that coldness of friendship, which in my opinion will be the easier done, if thou make the chief treaty for our assistance betwixt thee and the Queen Regent, in a familiar obliging way. And withal showing all possible respect and trust to those ministers whom she most esteems.”

The true tenour of French policy towards England at this important juncture, will be best gathered from Sabran’s own despatches, which form Sloane, MSS. 5460, 5461 in the British Museum.

the bishops, and the sword that God has placed in your hands; that is not to quit it, till you are a KING; and as to the fortresses, particularly the Tower, only to put them into the hands of those who are veritably for you; for if the militia and some of the fortresses are placed in the hands of some of the Parliamentarians, you will only have made war to destroy yourself and your reputation; and as for me, I should be done for, since I could not trust myself to those people. Also concerning those who are excepted from the pardon, if you could permit any on our side to be so, and none on the other, I should not be astonished that there are so many traitors.

Talbot is not arrived, nor Mackworth, nor Digby's secretary. Write me word whether Petit has arrived. As to what Digby writes to Jermyn, of his desire to be ambassador-extraordinary, I cannot understand whence Digby has taken that up, for neither I nor Jermyn ever thought of that, very far from it. Nevertheless, I will keep the commission when it comes, and when I shall think proper to do it, I will let you know; but at present he serves us better otherwise. Adieu, my dear heart. I refer you to Lord Jermyn for many other things.

Paris, 10th February, 1645.

The last cipher is that used for "her Majesty."

31st January, 1645.

Between the date of this and the subsequent letter, the vain hopes of accommodation from the Uxbridge treaty had vanished. An application was privately made to the king by an influential member of parliament to renew the treaty in the queen's name,

to which he replied, that she was certainly the fittest person "to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as the peace of this kingdom," but that her name was by no means to be profaned, and therefore their agent must be well persuaded of the "rebels' willingness to yield to reason," before he allowed the queen to be made a party to any negotiation.* He was probably not thus "well persuaded," as the transaction went no further.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 23 b]

My dear heart,

I have received at the same time, three of your letters, by Bennet, Leg [and] Talbot; and by Petit, a packet from Digby, but no letter from you, which [makes] me think [it] has been forgotten at Oxford. Send it me, I beg you. I am awaiting with impatience what will come of the treaty.

I do not cease to labour for your affairs, and I hope well, provided you do not spoil what I do. I am despatching Dr. Goffe to-day into Holland, for the conclusion of all. I will send you his instructions, by an express in a day or two. Also here [it is] a settled affair that [they] will give us forty thousand pistoles, which I would have sent you, if my ship had come back with the tin, but I durst not venture to send by another ship. For this affair of the tin, I have been so ill-treated, that my credit here is taken away, and this will prevent all the merchants from trusting me, and consequently your

* King's Cabinet Opened, p. 2.

service will be at a stand-still. And if the business had succeeded before, by this time you would have had money. Lord Jermyn will say more to you about it; I will only tell you that, if after a thing has been promised me, it is not kept to, I cannot serve you. For in the instance of this affair, had it not been for your service, I might as well have lived on the money which I have hazarded there, as on that which will accrue to me from thence, for the surplus was only to send to you.

You write me that I should not have too much intercourse with the Irish commissioners; that troubles me much, for I fear that you have no intention of making a peace with them, which is ruinous for you and for me.* Now all the assistance that I get from France to send you, is from the Catholics, as a sort of bribe to assist the Catholics of England, in the hopes which I give, that you would take care of Catholics, if they would only help you; and the forty thousand pistoles which you would have had already if Colster had got back, were given me by a

* The king, in reply to this passage, writes:—

“Thine of the 10th, I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning Ireland, for I desire nothing more than a peace there, and never forbade thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know, to be knaves.” *King’s Cabinet Opened*, p. 12.

Lord Muskerry, in a letter which was afterwards printed, complains that either the king professed more to the queen in favour of Ireland than he really intended, or that she professed more in his name than he had authorized her to do. *Merc. Britannicus*, 1--8 September, 1645.

company of devout people at Paris, who promise me much more in a short time. For as to France, they have need of their money, and they will pay the Duke of Lorraine, so that I see no assistance but by the Catholics ; and if you do not wish me to have any dealings with the Irish, and do not make peace with them, I fear that these people here will do little for you.* I will say no more by this opportunity, excepting to send you word how many of your letters I have received, that is 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19. The rest are wanting. Send me word how many you have received.

Adieu, my dear heart.

28th February, 1644-5.

* The king, in a letter which crossed this, *en route*, makes the following remarkable concession : —

“I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had. It is that I give thee power to promise in my name to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. This is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee, for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in anything else but this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us. And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me even in this, and trust in thee, (though it concerns religion,) as if thou wert a Protestant.”
King’s Cabinet Opened, p. 7.

As an appendix to this letter, we subjoin an extract from an oration by the queen's almoner, the Bishop of Angoulême, composed for the purpose of appealing to the benevolence of French Catholics, on behalf of the queen, and setting forth the claims which she had upon their gratitude and sympathy. Her request was for a loan of money, to be repaid by instalments when convenient.

“‘To fall from a kingdom to slavery, is indeed sad,’ was the saying of a despoiled prince in the tragic poet; to see on the other side a most Catholic princess, whose veins contain and hold, and in which there runs along the precious blood of our St. Lewis, which is not only the life of her body, but also animates, and impregnates her heart with the same sentiments of piety, which hath acquired to that great saint a crown of glory in the heavens, and a shrine in our temples; a princess who, in imitation of that most inimitable saint, hath set up the altars, and the true worship of God in England, and hath caused the Catholic religion again to grow and triumph there, with all the splendour and glory imaginable, for the space of fifteen or sixteen years, in despite of all the opposition that heresy could make against it; and that, after it had been continually oppressed and persecuted for the space of an hundred years: yea, so far had this proceeded, as there hath been, even in the chief city of the kingdom, a convent of Capuchin fathers, preaching, catechising, and confessing every day publicly, and that not only in French, but also in English, administering the sacraments, and celebrating divine service, with as much solemnity and liberty, and I durst even say in proportion, with as great affluence of people, as any church in Paris; the king saying nothing to it, nor any of the ministers of state, or justices of that kingdom daring to impeach or hinder it, especially for these last ten years; yea, even so far, that there hath been seen, to the admiration of all Christendom, that which hath not been seen since the time of the schism, and that which none could have dared ever to hope to see again, namely, residents from the court of

England at Rome, to treat there with the pope of the affairs of religion, and reciprocally three nuntios from the pope in the court of England, namely, the Seigneurs Gregory Panzani, Bishop of Mileto, in Italy, Georgio Coneo, a Scottish man of station, but a domestic of the last pope, and of the Cardinal Barbarni, and Signor Prossetti, who was made cardinal at his going out of England; all these negotiating in the said court, during the space of seven or eight years, with as much liberty, yea, even familiarity, as in the court of any other Catholic prince whatsoever; and all this, by the conduct, zeal, and credit of the Queen of England, who by these sweet steps, walked fairly on toward the conversion of that kingdom, and which it seemed, we might speedily have hoped for, after so happy and prosperous beginnings, (but our sins have turned away that expected happiness.) A princess, who hath given a confidence to the poor English Catholics, to come forth from their retirements, where they remained shut up in obscurity, and to appear in the light, with their faces erected, to profess and exercise their religion with all assurance; to aspire after, and actually obtain offices and charges in the court and state, after they had been, for the space of an age, without liberty of breathing, or rather sighing, in secret; a princess, who by her alms, or rather by her immense liberalities (of which I can give testimony, for that the most part thereof passed through my hands,) hath restored life to many entire families, (yea, even the most noble of England) who had been despoiled of all their estates for the cause of religion, and who were upon the point to die by a cruel and lingering famine; yet, notwithstanding, we may see at this day, this princess (of so excellent merit, and who hath so deeply obliged all Catholics) hath been twice chased from her own kingdom, and forced to fly from the cruelty of her enemies with, infinite labour and peril; and that, within fourteen days after her delivery of a child, who not content to have persecuted her criminally and to death, in their Parliament, by their devilish calumnies they have

persecuted her in this her flight, pursuing her both by sea and land, with cannon discharged, (one shot of which came into her ship) thinking to interrupt the course of her flight, and to make her fall into the hands of her enemies, who followed her at the distance of musket-shot, other shot being made against a little house where she was retired, entering the chamber of her lady of honour, and of her maids of honour, and killed some persons of her train ; so as this poor princess was forced, for the saving of her life, with all speed to rise and fly five or six hundred paces thence, without having the leisure to put on her clothes ; and this on foot, being in the night, and in the deep of winter, in the midst of snow and frost (it being in the month of February),—and to go hide herself in a ditch, and behind a little rising ground, to put herself under that shelter from the cannon, which continually played for the space of two whole hours, the bullets flying over her head, and falling down at the feet of her majesty, the rebels having no respect either to her person, or yet to her sex, which hath always found commiseration and pity in the most wild and savage spirits, nor yet regarding her long sickness, which had brought her even within two fingers of death, neither yet the Royal character which she bears, which hath been wont to find veneration among subjects, even the most revolted, nor the blood of France of which she is descended, and which is now redoubted and revered throughout the world ; to see her now deprived of that, which of all things in the world, (on this side God) is most dear unto her, namely, the king, her husband, and the princes, her children ; and that which augments her troubles and anxieties, even to infinite, is the continual apprehensions and fear in which she is, lest the chance of war should cause them to fall into the hands of their enemies, who no doubt would forthwith imbrue their sacrilegious hands in the Royal blood. To see her at the very point now, in the flower of her age, about thirty-five or thirty-six, to be reduced (she and her family) into a prodigious calamity, into which she had been already fallen, as to her own person, had it not been hindered by

the charity that hath been extended to her by the king and queen. Lastly, to see this princess suffer all this for the most just cause in the world, and that which hath made all our saints and martyrs, that is to say, for that she is a Catholic, and re-established, and made to flourish again the Catholic religion in England. Behold, this is all her crime in the opinion of the Parliamentarians; this the only fault of which they can convince her, and of which they have declared her guilty by all their printed pamphlets, after they had with greatest malice and diligence made a more accurate search into her whole life, than into the life of the most wicked malefactor, even of those who are guilty of treason itself. And this seems to me to be a motive that should so much more excite us to contribution in this cause, for that it depends upon us for succour and relief. It is not without the greatest regret, and with very much unwillingness and shame, that she is brought to this point to ask and importune your aid. But her own affairs, and the whole Catholic cause, especially in England, are at present come to a state, that she believed it was her duty, on this occasion, even to offer some violence to her own disposition, to overcome the greatness of her spirit, and to put out, and lay by, all sense of that shame, confusion, and repugnance, which hath hitherto deterred her.”*

* “A warning to the Parliament of England, in an oration made to the general assembly of the French clergy at Paris, by M. Jaques du Perron, Bishop of Angoulême, and grand almoner to the Queen of England.” 4to. Lond. 1647.

With all her zeal for religion, there were times when Henrietta showed that she could exercise a proper liberality of feeling, and independence of ecclesiastical control. A newspaper diarist observes —

“By letters from France, we were advertised, that the Queen of England hath received a check from her confessor at St. Germain, for letting her English followers have liberty to hear

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 91 b.]

My dear heart,

I wrote you by *Petit*, yet as I am sending this man, I wish to lose no opportunity of writing. I hope that now that we have Weymouth, we shall have news oftener. If those that we have from Scotland are true, I think that it will be for you to hope for peace, as the Parliamentarians would now wish to have it. I have written to Prince Rupert, that you will tell him the contents of the despatches I send you. I think it is very necessary for him to know them. You write me that you desire to know the state of my health; it is not yet what I can call good, for I still have the numbness in one arm and in my legs, and sometimes some little inconvenience in my head, but I do not cease to burn. I am going to have a consultation of physicians to see what is to be done this spring. Prince Rupert has written to me to remind you of Will. Legg, to bring him into your bed-chamber. I also mentioned it to you before I left. If you have no reasons against it which I do not know, you will oblige our nephew by doing it.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, this 13th March, 1645.

sermons, and the Book of Common Prayer to be so often read to them: not sparing to tell her that he feared she would turn heretic. The queen made answer, that she was constant in her religion, but as she had liberty of hers in England, so her husband's friends and hers should have the liberty of using theirs with her in France.

To Charles I.

[King's Cabinet Opened, p. 32.]

My dear heart,

Since my last, I have received one of your letters, marked 16, by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooley, which hath a little surprised me, seeming to me that you write as if I had said in my letter something which had displeased you; if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your despatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to show them to any, only to Lord Jermyn to uncipher them, my head not suffering me to do it myself; but if it please you, I will do it, and none in the world shall see them. Be kind to me, or you kill me; I have already affliction enough to suffer, which, without you, I could not do, but your service surmounts all. Farewell, my dear heart; behold the mark which you desire to have, to know when I desire anything in earnest, and I pray begin to remember what I spoke to you concerning Jack Barclay for master of the wards.* I am not engaged, nor will not be for the places of Lord Percy and others; do you accordingly.

Paris, this 13th of March.

* The king in his reply, regrets that he cannot make Barclay master of the wards, having already given the place to Cottington.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7,379, fol. 93 b.]

This and the following letter are entirely in cipher, but were written by the queen herself.

I have again received one of your letters by Garnier, another by Choquen, and that by the Portuguese post. You may be assured that I am losing no time for your assistance. They are very tedious in this country, as well as in other places. I have [nothing new to tell you], it being only two days since I wrote very fully by two expresses, excepting that this week the Duke of Lorraine still assures me of what he has promised me, and France [is] very glad of that affair, and quite ready to pay the money he demands. If Dr. Goffe succeeds in his second journey to Holland, he will come straight to you in England, to bring you the conclusion of all. The affair of the marriage must not be published, because the rebels might well think that is not done without a great assistance from Holland, and would keep more on their guard. I hope we shall soon have a little fleet, and even should the Prince of Orange's affairs chance to fail, it would not fail to be [ready] to go and try to surprise the first Parliamentary ships which shall leave the Downs before the whole fleet goes out, which will be no small matter, if God bless it and preserve us. This is the wish of her who is entirely yours.

Adieu, my dear heart,

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Paris, 21st March.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. fol. 486.]

With this letter commences a fresh cipher which the king sent to the queen to be used between themselves alone, and not communicated even to Jermyn. It was not to supersede the use of the last cipher, but to be confined to such secrets as were entrusted to none besides.

My dear heart,

Pooley arrived yesterday. This letter is only to tell you that I am very glad that you have resolved to do as you wrote me about *the Catholics*, and hope that will do good; you may believe that *I* shall make good use of it. As to the *Irish agent, that is here*, [he] is a knave. You will hear of it more fully by one whom I shall send you express: be assured that *I know him*. I am sending an express to *Ormond* on that business, and then you will hear that knave spoken of. The man is so eager to set off, that I have only leisure to write these few lines, and also to say that I am not very well; but I think that it is the spring. I long to write at length about the wickedness of that fellow, and his designs. You will see that he is very inventive and cunning.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, this 2nd April, 1645.

To Lord Digby.

[Ludlow Letters, p. 53 b.]*

Monsieur Digby,

Though I received no letters from you by Pooley, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you, and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconstant to your friends, as men are to their mistresses. I do not speak of you, you know that I am too well acquainted with you ; for my part, I have only this fault, to be a good friend, and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be necessary to assure you thereof.

I have seen the despatch that you sent to Jermyn concerning Hartogen ; I believe that you will rest satisfied, for I have the same opinion of him that you have, and many of those things that he hath written are liès, and within a few days, you shall hear that I have talked with him according to his desert, which I am resolved to do, for some reasons that Jermyn will write to you in cipher. You think it strange that Wilmot is so well entertained here, which is done according to the orders which I have under the king's hand and yours.† It is true, his good carriage here hath merited this good entertainment.

* Also in Husband's Collection, p. 833.

† The king in his letter of $\frac{13^{\text{th}}}{23^{\text{rd}}}$ March, says that he sends to the queen, Wilmot and Percy, whom he finds troublesome to deal with, and for whom he requests a favourable reception.

Henry Percy and he, are not so good friends as we thought ; we have discovered it in some occasions where there can be no dissembling. Concerning Thomas Elliot, he hath behaved himself well here, and hath so earnestly importuned me for his return, that having no order from the king to tell him that he should stay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe he is very trusty, and have charged him to impart unto you what I told him ; therefore I shall not write any more, my hand being more lame than ever, and I more your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To Charles I.

[Harl. MS. 7,379, fol. 83.]

In April, the queen was taken seriously ill : the contemporary newspapers call her ailment tertian fever and flux, and mention that she was twice bled, and was in a very dangerous state. The king, in much anxiety, wrote to Lord Jermyn :—

“ In your next, let me know particularly how my wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is ; if well, then every word will please me.”*

As soon as the queen could again hold a pen, she wrote as follows :—

My dear heart,

This letter is only to assure you that God has still pleased to leave me in this world to do you some service,

* King's Cabinet, p. 36.

and that, excepting a severe cold which my fever has left, and my old disease, I am tolerably well. The physicians give me to hope that the spring will cure me perfectly, which I the rather wish that I may see you again before I die, than for any love I have for the world, for all that troubled me during my illness, was that I was dying far from you ; otherwise, I did not care about it much. I hope He will yet again give me this joy, [which I wait for] with much impatience. I refer to Jermyn to write many things to you, not yet being able to do it myself.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris 17th May, 1645.

With this letter, closes the interesting series of private letters from the queen to the king. In June 1645, the far-famed "King's Cabinet" was captured, in which probably all these historic treasures were contained, and though Charles and Henrietta still continued their frequent intercourse, at least until the king's surrender to the Scots rendered his free correspondence almost impossible, their letters are only casually preserved, in one or other of the State Paper collections of the period. Subjoined are two letters from the king to the queen, which belong to the series, and are hitherto unpublished. The former is transcribed just as it stands in the MS. without cipher, probably as it was written by the king himself, and then put into other hands to translate into cipher.* The second letter presents in the MS. a sheet of figures, without a single letter, or any deciphering interlined, but the key formed from other letters has served to develop its meaning.

* This is probably the case with most of the later letters in the King's Cabinet Opened. They were sent to the queen entirely in cipher, whereas, as printed, they are free from cipher, excepting one passage which is in the private cipher used between the royal pair, and not to be communicated to any one else.

Dear heart,

Being now in my march, I cannot hope to hear so often from thee, or thou from me so oft n as before ; and therefore, as I shall be the more diligent in finding occasions of writing to thee, so I hope thou wilt not impute it to my laziness, in case thou shouldst not hear often from me this summer time. This bearer, Sir John Winter, as thy knowledge of him makes it needless to recommend him to thee, so I should injure him if I did not bear him the true witness of having served me with as much fidelity and courage as any, not without much good success, though some cross accidents of late hath made him (not without reason) desire to wait upon thee ; it being therefore needful that [I] should give him this testimony, lest his journey to thee be misinterpreted.

Tom Elliot came Friday last, in answer to which, I must tell thee, that concerning Hartogen's business, I did no otherwise represent it to thee, than that thou might not be ignorant of anything that I knew, but (I assure thee) never with the least doubt that thou could be deceived with him, or that his vain braggings of thee were not villanous lies. As for my letter to Or[mond], he understands it clearly enough, but he is somewhat fearful to take that burden upon him, without the council there ; but I have now so cleared that doubt likewise to him, that nothing but his disobedience, (which I cannot expect,) can hinder speedily the peace of Ireland. So much in answer to thine, for what I have not now, I believe to have answered before.

As for my business here, my first work will be the relief of Chester, which I am confident will be easily and speedily done ; after that, I shall resolve according to occasion, for that the Scots which are in England, and the northern rebels advance southward with an army. I must go to see if I can beat them, otherwise I shall fall into the associated counties ; or, if Fairfax be engaged far westward, to try to destroy him there. If thou ask what I have to do this [with], I now march with above six thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, besides con-

siderable recruits, which I am sure suddenly to have, so that, if I may be assured of thy health, I shall cheerfully proceed in this summer's work. So God bless thee, and send me good news of thee, which is the daily prayer of him who is

Eternally thine.*

Droitwich, Monday 12th May, 1645.

My dear heart,

I had written to thee from Tutbury, Monday last, by the ordinary of Oxford. They stopped my letter, nor am I confident how soon, or if this will come to thee, but I must not stay longer from giving thee thanks for thine of the 19th of May, which assures me of thy health, as likewise to tell thee of the good success which it hath pleased God to give me this day, of taking this town, which was well defended, for the few men that were in it. It was assaulted at a breach and two other places; at the first, we were thrice repulsed, because of a strong intrenchment made before the breach, but the other two places being weakly manned, our men entered without much opposition, which soon made amends for the strong resistance in the other place, where our men showed as much courage as was possible, which got that success their fellows procured them by their successful entrance. The number of prisoners, quantities of arms, and ammunition, are not yet certain, but that assuredly they are very considerable. I am now hastening to the relief of Oxford, where, if it shall please God to bless me, according to these beginnings, it may make us see London this next winter. I am momentarily, and by a good hand, assured that Montrose's late good success is the cause of the Scots' sudden retreat. God bless thee, sweet heart.†

Leicester Abbey, Saturday, 31 May.

* Harl. MS. 7379, fol. 42.

† Ibid. fol. 41.

Though the queen's ready pen no longer affords traces of her movements, they may be slightly gathered from contemporaneous newspapers, and serve occasionally as connecting links to her scattered correspondence. On June 13th, we read —

“The queen now grows lusty again, but goes on her old way still. She is the same woman she was, and is resolved to her power to manage the business for the continuance of the wars here.”

The True Informer, of July 19th, says — “The queen has pardoned the Marquis of Newcastle his former faults, and taken him back to favour.”

On the 16th of July, letters were intercepted from the queen and the Earl of Newcastle to Goring, purporting that large supplies were certainly coming to him, so he should keep his forces together — (he was then in Dorsetshire).

Augst. 6th. “Queen Mary is gone to St. Germain's, whither the Earl of Antrim, the great agent for the Irish rebels, betakes himself to make his addresses to her. On the 8th of August, in compliance with Antrim's wish, the queen applied to the States of Holland to send forces hither, but was absolutely refused.” The Perfect Diurnal of August 18th, reports that the queen obtained leave to make an appeal for aid to her husband, to the public assembly of France, hoping that to her, the daughter of their Henri Quatre, no denial could be given; but she was disappointed — they said she had already set three kingdoms on fire, and would now inflame theirs by raising war with England.

The queen, having failed in her application to the States, induced Louis XIV. to present one on his own account. This, however, they refused, saying that the orders of a minor were not to be obeyed, and bidding the queen to keep her court where the queen-mother used to keep hers, and not come within the verge of the court of France.

To the Bishop of Laon.

[Gamache's Diary : Court and Times of Charles I., vol. ii. p. 362.]

The conjectural date of 1644, given to this letter, by the editor of Gamache's Diary, is incorrect. The queen was at the baths of Bourbon, on September 7th, 1644, and it was not till August, 1645, as noted above, that she removed from Paris to St. Germain, the letter must, therefore, belong to this latter year. It refers to the queen's dangers at sea in the spring of 1643, and also to her preservation in July 1644.

Monsieur the Bishop of Laon,

I have been informed of the attention which you have paid to the reception of a little offering which the capuchin fathers have brought on my behalf to our Lady of Liesse, as a token of gratitude for having been preserved from shipwreck, through the goodness of our Lord, and through the intercession of his most holy mother, in a tempest which befel me in preceding years at sea. Having also purposed to found a mass to be said, every Saturday in the year for ever, in the said chapel, I have ordered at the same time whatever is necessary to this end to be delivered, so that there is nothing further to be done than to draw up a contract. For this purpose, I send a capuchin, one of my almoners, with power to do all that shall be needful on this occasion, promising myself that, as you have already taken some pains about this good work, you will continue to bestow such as are in your power and authority, for terminating it, to the glory of God, and to the honour of

the most holy Virgin, and as a perpetual token of my gratitude to both. This is what I request of you, till I come in person to pay my vows in the said chapel, when I shall express how much I am obliged to you for everything. I pray God to have you in his keeping.

Your good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To the Bishop of Laon.

St. Germain-en-Laye, 7th September, [1645].

The following memoranda record the proceedings of the queen during the closing months of the year 1645 : —

Sept. 1. “ The queen’s letters to the king, contain complaints of her being slighted in the French court, and having little hope of supplies from thence. Her letters were taken in a vessel bound for Exeter. Montrose is little opposed in Scotland.”

Sept. 18th, 1645. “ Meney and Petit, couriers from England, arrived in Paris, with the news that Montrose had given the death-wound to the cause of the Parliament in Scotland, had taken Linlithgow, and summoned Edinburgh. E. Porter was sent express to the queen from the king, but he had been left behind on the way, his fat guts, peppered with Popery, hindering his speed in riding post. Browne, the royal agent from England in Paris, went to St. Germain with this news. The Bishop of Londonderry was taken abroad, and his money taken from him; but, through the influence of the French queen, it was paid back. If the queen can have her pension regularly, she will enter a Carmelite nunnery.”

On the very day that the queen ordered a Te Deum to be sung for the conquest of Scotland, Montrose was severely defeated, in consequence of his too great confidence, which led him to divide his forces.

The Weekly Intelligencer of September 30th, says — “ In the defeat of the king’s troops near Winchester, Sir Michael, captain

of the queen's troops was taken, and with him the scarf which the queen took from her own neck, and gave him to wear as his colours."

In the Perfect Occurrences, November 7th, we find that some letters of the king, and of Digby, which had recently been taken, certify that the queen and Digby were very intimate.

"The queen hopes that if they can hold out during the winter, they will, by spring, have such an army from Ireland, France, and Denmark, as shall enable the king to recover all; that his design in going to the north was to recruit his forces with fresh Scottish troops, and to be near the Scots, who, he thought, would submit, if Presbyterianism were promised.

"The said letters make it appear plain, that no officer is placed, not only about the queen herself, but neither about the king nor the prince, but the queen must not only know of it, but appoint who it must be, and in what manner, or at the least approve thereof, and Digby is the circumspect to tell everything to the queen. That in one letter, he writes to her that the Lord Bernard Stuart was to be made a lord, Earl of Lichfield (I remember it was) but I think he will go near to go without it, for want of money to pay the seal."

Digby's forces, being routed in the north, he fled to the Isle of Man. Letters were found in his coach; some of which say that the queen was ill.

To the Duke of Orleans.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The queen was reduced to such utter dependence upon France, that she was glad to avail herself of any opportunity of winning help and favour. The Duke of Orleans, her only surviving brother, was frequently on ill terms with the court, and therefore

unable to help her; but being now reconciled to the Queen-Regent, she addressed herself to him. The following letter is entirely in the queen's hand, but it is not signed.

Brother,

The obligation which I already owe to you, for the obliging courtesy you have shown me in the letter that you have written to my cousin, the Prince of Orange, about the affair of the vessels, and also, since your return, the desire that you have shown me, to assist me in anything you can, induces me to continue to address myself to you, and to represent to you the state of my affairs in England; which, as you know, are in so bad a condition, that I expect nothing but entire ruin, unless France assist us. I know well that it is a thing by no means easy, having very serious affairs in hand; but the goodness of the queen my sister, and of my cousin, Cardinal Mazarin, to me is so great, that I hope by your means to obtain something for our affairs. I apply to you, as to a person in whom I have with reason, entire confidence. What I would wish is, that you should propose to the queen, and to the cardinal, whether, now that the campaign is almost finished, and they are about to take up winter-quarters, it would not be possible to detach some troops, and set them off for England. If that were feasible, I should owe you obligations which no words could express. I refer to you to judge of the time proper for speaking of this affair; I entreat you not to lose it—we are very near our end. Pray pardon my importunity, it is only that I may one day render myself

capable of showing you, by some service, the entire affection that I have devoted to you, and my gratitude for the obligations I am under to you.

1st January, 1646.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Ibid.]

Cousin,

Words fail me to tell you how sensible I am of the excess of your kindness to me. I am so little satisfied with all that I can show you in this present affair, that it is with difficulty that I can speak to you of it. I shall only beg you to believe that I can never fail in the obligations which I am under to you, nor in the gratitude which I owe you, and that all my actions will show you, better than my words, how truly I am, and will be all my life, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, January 18th, 1646.

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Montrose and His Times, vol. ii. p. 300]

The two following letters are to the gallant Marquis of Montrose, whose continued struggles in Scotland have won for him a lasting renown. The learned editor of *Montrose and His Times* places them under the year 1647, but at that time the army of the gallant marquis was disbanded, in compliance with the orders of Charles I., after his surrender to the Scots' army in May, 1646.

Cousin,

I am very happy to have this opportunity of

writing to you, in the meantime, until I can furnish you with more ample despatches, regarding the proposition submitted to me by my Lord Crawford, on your part and that of several good servants of his majesty in the Highlands of Scotland, of which I approve extremely; and as I hold it to be of great importance to the service of his majesty, I shall do all that I can to further it, and labour therein with all my power. This letter is merely to tell you generally of what you shall be more particularly informed by myself next week, and also to assure you that I shall never be contented, till I am able to prove by deeds the estimation in which I hold you, and the services you have rendered to the king, so that you may be satisfied that I am truly,

Your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

Paris, 5th February.

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 301.]

Cousin,

I have received your letters, one by La Sonde, and the other by Major Carr, and am exceedingly rejoiced to learn the condition in which you are, the rebels having spread a report that you had been defeated. I wish I could send you as good news of England. I have com-

manded Jermyn to write more fully to you; and also this bearer to tell you, over and above, what I cannot commit to paper. Wherefore, referring you to them, I conclude with the assurance, that I entertain so lively a sense of the faithful and vast services which you have rendered to the king, that I shall always have your interests no less deeply at heart, and indeed more so, than my own. This I entreat you to believe, and that I am,

Your very good and affectionate friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To our cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

Paris, Feb. 12, [1646.]

To Sir E. Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 25.]

In 1645, it had been deemed safer for the royal cause that the Prince of Wales should be separated from his father, and hold an independent court in the West of England. But now the western counties being endangered by the Parliamentary forces, it became of the utmost importance to remove him to a safe retreat. If newspaper authority is to be believed however, he was very unwilling to leave the kingdom.

Perfect Passages, Jan. 27, 1646. "The match of Prince Charles with the Prince of Orange's daughter," writes a journalist, "is still on foot; the chief officers in Cornwall have used their endeavours to send him beyond sea into France, or elsewhere, but His Highness puts them off, and cries, and stamps, and vexeth, and saith he will not leave the kingdom, he had rather come into the Parliament, if he cannot stand out long."

Early in 1646, a vessel from France was captured near Dartmouth; the captain, seeing his fall inevitable, threw overboard a

bag of letters, which was rescued by the enemy, and found to contain, amongst others, one from Henrietta Maria to Lord Culpepper.

“The queen’s letter* intimates that she had received a letter from the king, whereat she is much troubled, because he therein declares that he had altered his resolution of sending the prince into France, grounded upon a letter which the council about the prince had written unto him, giving him advice to send the prince into Denmark, and this resolution of that council was grounded upon these three heads. 1.—Goring’s protestation against the voyage of the prince. 2.—Upon the reports of Charles Murray, that the very talk of it in France deaded the hearts of all honest men there, who conceive that kingdom the most dangerous place for the prince to abide in. 3.—That upon the leaving of this kingdom, the west would be scandalized and lost. The subscribers of this letter were, the Lord Culpepper, Lord Hopton, Lord Capel, and Hyde, the king’s Chancellor of the Exchequer; to which three reasons the queen delivers her opinion, in a letter directed to the Lord Culpepper, being a whole sheet of paper, all written in French by her own hand, bearing date from St. Germain’s, in France, January 13th, wherein she affirms Goring’s reasons to be worth nothing, and Murray’s to be but the reasons of one unacquainted with cabinet councils; and for the western gentlemen, she hopes they will not put the hazard of the prince in competition with themselves, and adviseth that the prince may not go to Denmark, nor to Holland, neither to France, if with security he may stay at home. But, if he must depart this kingdom, then she apprehends that France will be the aptest place, and most probable to procure succours. And, as for the match which it is conceived will be propounded for the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, she acknowledgeth the match to be rich, and the family honourable, and if effected, would conduce much to procure

* Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 10th, 1646.

assistance for the prince ; but, in case it be propounded, it must be denied, for she hath engaged herself elsewhere for the prince. You may here clearly see who rules the roast still," add the Parliamentary journalists. They also name "another letter from the queen to the Lady Dalkeith, to get the Princess [Henrietta] out of Exeter, that she may be conveyed beyond the seas."

The necessity for the prince's removal still continuing, the Scilly Isles were named. The queen thus expresses her opinion to Hyde, afterwards the great Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

Paris, the 4th of April, 1646.

"My Lord Culpepper must witness for me, that I have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has been proposed for rendering of the Prince of Wales's abode there safe. Yet I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet, until I shall hear that the Prince of Wales shall be removed from thence. It is confessed, it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers places, and the manning the works will require a thousand men more than you have, or, for aught I see, can procure ; neither can you be confident, that the loss of Cornwall may not suddenly have a dangerous influence upon that garrison, most of your soldiers being of that country. The power of the Parliament at sea is so great, that you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such proportions of provisions, as so great a garrison will require.

"I need not remember you of what importance to the king, and all his party, the safety of the prince's person

is. If he should fall into the rebels' hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore, I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal service you can do to the king, me, or the prince. Culpepper will tell you how I have strained to assist you with present provisions, shipping, and money, necessary for the prince's remove to Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have moved the Queen Regent to give assurance, that if the prince, in his way to Jersey, should be necessitated by contrary winds, or the danger of the Parliament shipping, to touch in France, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great cheerfulness and civility, and will be subscribed under the hands of the French King and Queen, my brother, and Cardinal Mazarin; therefore, I hope all scruples are now satisfied. Culpepper is hastening to you with good frigates; but, if you shall find any danger before their arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in council, which Culpepper hath acquainted me with, for which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this service will be to the king who, in every letter, presses me to write to you concerning my son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, most constantly,

Your assured friend,

"HENRIETTA MARIA R."

To the Prince of Wales.

[Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 230.]

Dear Charles,

Having received a letter from the king, I have despatched this bearer, Dudley Wyatt, to you with a copy of the letter ; by which you may see the king's command to you and to me. I make no doubt but you will obey it suddenly, for certainly your coming hither is the security of the king your father ; therefore make all the haste you can, to show yourself a dutiful son, and a careful one, to do all that is in your power to serve him ; otherwise, you may ruin the king and yourself. Now that the king is gone from Oxford, either to the Scotch or to Ireland, the Parliament will, with all their power, force you to come to them. There is no time to be lost ; therefore lose none, but come speedily. I have written more at large to my Lord Culpepper, to show it to your council. I'll say no more to you, hoping to see you shortly. I would have sent you Henry Jermyn, but [he] is going to the court, with some commands from the king to the Queen-Regent. I'll add no more to this, but that I am,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, this 17th May.

The king's letter, enclosed in that of the queen, was as follows : —

“ Charles,

“ This is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you in anything, having written fully to your mother, what I would have you to do, whom I command you to obey in everything, except religion, concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you ; and see that you go no whither without her, or my particular direction. Let me hear often from you. So God bless you.

“ Your loving father,

“ CHARLES REX.

“ Postscript.—If Jack Ashburnham come where you are, command him to wait on you, as he was wont, until I shall send for him. If your mother and you be together, if she will, he must wait on her.”*

To Lord Culpepper.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 231.]

My Lord Culpepper,

I despatch this gentleman to my son, being very much astonished at not hearing tidings from you, to carry to him a copy of a letter which I have received from the king, by which you will see how necessary he thinks it for my son to come here. Before your departure, I had already said sufficient on this subject not to speak of it again at this time, but this letter, and also the news from London, make me again urge you to send my son. For if the king has joined the Scotch, or gone into Ireland, as reported, (for certainly he has left Oxford)

* Perfect Diurnal, 15—22 June, 1646.

—or if it should happen that he has been taken, his life is not safe, if the person of my son is not out of danger of being taken. I believe that the council of my son will not oppose that, and more, that they will obey the orders of the king, and that promptly. There is no longer time to delay; the king's commands must be executed. Besides obedience, the life of the king, the good of my son, and of the kingdom depend on it; therefore, there must be no more dispute upon it. I write only to you, but it is that you may show it to my son's council, and it is for you all that I write. I believe I have said enough, to hear, at the first tidings, that my son is arrived in France, and the command which the king has given me is sufficiently ample for that. I will end, assuring you that I am,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, May 17th.

To the Prince of Wales.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 238.]

To conquer her son's reluctance to go to France, the queen sent him a handsome sum of money, with a portrait of his heiress cousin, Mdle. de Monpensier, and also an assurance from the French court, as well as herself, that he should be at liberty to return when he pleased.*

The hesitation of the prince's council to comply with the commands of the king and queen for removing their charge into France, was mainly occasioned by their fears lest the dominant character of Henrietta should lead her to supersede them in their

* Weekly Intelligencer, July 21, 1646.

authority, when she had her son in her own hands. The queen surmised the ground of their reluctance, and addressed herself to overcome it in the following letter.

Dear Charles,

I am now fully satisfied, upon the intelligence which I have from Newcastle and London, that you cannot make any longer residence in Jersey, without apparent danger of falling into the enemies' hands; and that, if you should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by treacheries as by force, to get your person into their power. Therefore, considering of what high importance your safety is, as well to the king's person and his affairs, as likewise to your own interest and all his majesty's kingdoms, I must positively require you to give immediate obedience to his majesty's commands, mentioned in the letter which I lately sent by Sir Dudley Wyatt, and reiterated in the letter which I this day received from the king by Mr. Montreuil, concerning your repair into this kingdom. Whereas, we have the greatest assurance from the crown of France that possibly can be given, for your honourable reception, and full liberty to continue here, and to depart hence at your pleasure; so I do hereby engage myself to you and your council, that, whensoever with their advice you shall find it fitting to repair from hence into any of his majesty's dominions, I shall no ways oppose it, but shall concur and assist therein; and I likewise assure you, that I shall very punctually pursue the king's directions to me, contained in his letter of the 22nd of

March, an extract whereof I herewith send you, signed by me. I mention these particulars, that, so far as shall be in my power, all possible objections may be satisfied. To which end, I further declare my full content and desire, that, during your residence in this kingdom, all business of importance which may concern yourself, or which, through you, may relate to his majesty's affairs, may be declared and resolved by you and your council, in such manner as ought to have been, if you had continued in England or Jersey. All other particulars concerning your journey hither, and your support when you shall be here, I refer to the relation of Lord Jermyn, and shall heartily pray to God for your safe and speedy passage hither. I am,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, 20th June, 1646.

The following is the extract alluded to in the letter :—

This is a true copy of the king's letter, signed by me,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

“ It is true that my person will not want danger; but I want not probabilities of reasonable good security, the chiefest of which, is Prince Charles's being with thee; concerning whom I desire thee, as thou lovest me, first, that thou wouldst not endeavour to alter him in religion, nor so much as trouble him in that point; next, that thou wouldst not thyself, nor suffer him to be engaged in any treaty of marriage, without first having my approbation.”

The following is an extract of the king's letter to the queen of the 28th May, 1646, from Newcastle :—

I think not Prince Charles safe in Jersey, therefore send for him to wait upon thee with all speed ; for his preservation is the greatest hope for my safety, and, in God's name, let him stay with thee, till it is seen what ply my business will take. And, for my sake, let the world see that the queen seeks not to alter his conscience.*

These repeated mandates proved successful, and the queen had at length the pleasure of welcoming her eldest son to Paris.

To the Earl of Lanark.

[Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 334.]

The following letter is undated, but it evidently refers to the negotiations of the Scottish commissioners with the king, in 1646, previous to his consignment to the English parliament. William, Earl of Lanark, was brother of James, Duke of Hamilton, and succeeded to the title, on the death of the duke in the cause of Charles I., in 1649.

Cousin,

You will perceive by this that you cannot make more haste in obliging me, than I shall on my part in witnessing my acknowledgments of it. I ascribe a great deal of the good inclinations your commissioners do now express, to the good offices you do, of which I entreat the continuance. The testimonies of friendship which I receive from those of your family, surprise me less than what I meet with from other hands ; and I promise myself to see further effects of it. And as I have all the

* The letter from which this is an extract, is printed in a valuable collection of the letters of Charles I. to his queen, edited by Mr. Bruce for the Camden Society, p. 42.

esteem of you that you can expect, so you owe me the justice of believing that I shall give evidence of it, upon every occasion that shall be offered to me: nor shall I rest satisfied with that, but shall diligently search out every opportunity of expressing it. Therefore, I entreat you to believe that I am, cousin,

Your very good and very affectionate friend and cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To the Duke of Hamilton.

[Ibid. p. 291.]

Cousin,

The account the king hath given me of your affection for his interest, and those marks of it, which from other hands have met me, do so sensibly affect me, that without any difficulty or scruple, I do now entertain you with my acknowledgments and resentments of it, before I have heard from you; and I assure you of the satisfaction I shall ever have of the continuance of it from you, which I shall desire may be as entire and full as the returns I shall study to make you; being resolved to lay hold on all occasions, by which I may discover my friendship for you, and to express the esteem I have of your friendship, by all means that may depend on my cares, which I shall employ in giving you day by day new proofs that I am and ever shall be

Your affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, 22nd September.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

Grateful attachment to her friends and attendants, was one of the most pleasing features in the character of the queen. The two following letters are in favour of Jaques du Peron, Bishop of Angoulême, who had long served her as almoner, and since her troubles, had sometimes been employed in more public affairs.

Cousin,

I make no doubt but an opportunity offers just now to put an end to my troubling you on the subject of the bishop of Angoulême, seeing that one of the bishoprics of which you gave Jermyn the assurance for him, the other day, is at this time vacant, by the death of the bishop of Evreux, and that it is moreover the bishopric of all others about which I believe the least difficulty will be encountered, since it is one which is worth but little more than that of M. d'Angoulême, and one by which he would be greatly convenienced. These circumstances, coinciding with the assurance which I give you of the sensible obligation it would confer upon me, to see a person who has attended me so long, with expenses so great, and who has rendered to me and to the Catholic religion such good services, advantaged for my sake, make me not to doubt by any means, but that you will grant him this bishopric of Evreux, and so I will use no more words in begging you for it, and will say no more about it, except to assure you, that I am truly, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, this 23rd July, 1646.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Ibid.]

Cousin,

I sent to-day, to the bishop D'Angoulême, who was at Paris, to communicate to him what I had already done for him in his absence, and the answer I had received from you. He said that his respect for the memory of the late bishop of Evreux had prevented him from moving on that occasion, as he ought to have done, but since I had had the goodness to think of him, he could not, and would not, refuse the effects of my good will, in the most advantageous chance for him which could ever offer itself, not so much for its worth, as for the convenience of this bishopric, in which all his property is situated, and which was formerly given by the late king, my father, to the late Cardinal du Peron, his uncle. This obliges me again to ask you anew to grant him this favour, in which you will oblige two persons at the same time, since you can give Angoulême, which is of equal value, to the person who asks you for Evreux. No other bishopric will ever be so suited to M. d'Angoulême as this, which is only fifteen leagues from this place, in the neighbourhood of England; so that, whatever becomes of me, the said bishop will be enabled to continue his services to me, whilst now his duty obliges him to return to Angoulême, having been two years absent in my service.

I have received so many proofs of your interest in all

that concerns me, that I cannot doubt your offering me, in this instance, the satisfaction of which you have given me hopes by Jermyn, of a bishopric in Normandy. Moreover, I assure you that the bishop of Angoulême will be as much obliged to you for this favour, as if you had bestowed on him one much greater; and that he will remain all his life closely bound to your service and to all your interests, and that he is an adherent who will be entirely gained and assured to you. I will say no more, except that I am truly, cousin,

Your most affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, this 29th July, 1646.

To Charles I.

[Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 271.]

We now resume once more the thread of correspondence between Charles I. and his Queen. The subjects of the following letters are too well known to need comment, but it may be remarked how clear were the queen's perceptions as to what were in fact the critical points in dispute between Charles and his Parliament. Montreuil was sent over to assist M. de Bellièvre, the French agent who succeeded Sabran, in bringing about an accommodation.

My dear heart,

I have not received any letters from you this week, which greatly troubles me, for we hear from London, that the Scots are resolved to deliver you into the hands of the Parliament. Nevertheless, I hope that the arrival of Montreuil will hinder them, when they see that France

joins your interests, as Montreuil has order to show them. It is true that Bellièvre declares that they must be contented in the matter concerning the bishops, which I know is entirely contrary to your inclination, and I swear to you, contrary to mine also, if I saw any possible means of saving them, and not destroying you. But, if you are lost, they are so, without resource; or if you can put yourself again at the head of an army, we shall replace them; and if I thought that this was not the means for it, I would never speak of it. Keep the militia, and never give up, and by that everything will return; and God will send us the means of replacing ourselves, of which there already begins to be some hope, Cardinal Mazarin having assured me that the general peace would be made before Christmas, and that being so, they will powerfully assist you.

I hasten into Ireland, to endeavour to compose the new disorders that are there,* and I have very good hope of doing so. My Lord Crawford is arrived, who has brought me very good offers from your party in Scotland; we shall do all that is necessary in the matter. There is every appearance in the world, that if you will be constant, as you have been, and as I believe you will be, in the militia and your friends, and not go to London,

* The queen repeatedly declared her wish to go into Ireland, but the king treated it as an extravagance not to be thought of. Her enemies construed it into a wish to escape from the court of France, where they said she found her presence no longer welcome. *King's Cabinet Opened*, p. 23.

without being able to leave it, that our affairs may go well. We must endeavour to have the Scots for us, without nevertheless taking the covenant, or doing anything which shall be dishonourable.* I know the troubles you are in, and I sympathise so much in them, that I suffer as much as you; but since we have suffered so much, we must resolve to finish with honour. Take care not to agree to the propositions they make, before you are aware of what you are doing, and be well resolved thereupon, however they may promise you. My hopes are great, provided you will be constant and resolved, we shall again be masters, and we shall see each other again with more joy than ever,

Adieu, my dear heart.

October $\frac{9\text{th}}{19\text{th}}$.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 294. French.]

My dear heart,

Since my last letter by post, I have received one of yours, in which you write me that Will. Murray asks new powers from you, and persuades you to take the covenant.† I am delighted to see that you are so resolute not to do it; for on my part, my opinion is, that

* In reply to this, the king expresses himself as much joyed to find the queen's judgment so right concerning the covenant. Charles I. in 1646, by J. Bruce, Esq. p. 72.

† This letter, dated Newcastle, October 24th, is printed in Mr. Bruce's Collection, edited for the Camden Society, p. 72.

if you do it, you are ruined ; therefore, I conjure you to remain firm in this resolution. And take care also in other things, not to allow yourself to be led on little by little, as those in London hope you will, and feel assured that you will insensibly grant them all their propositions. I apprehend, and with reason, that their design is to make use of me for our ruin, and to make me labour to persuade you as much as possible, although they are well assured that I shall not go further than I think you may do without harm (as I have done), considering the times we live in. But they, taking advantage of that, pretend to gain all the rest that they desire. Wherefore, be always on your guard, be constant in your resolution not to grant anything at all more than you have done by Will. Murray, however they may persuade you, unless it be in reference to the Presbyterian government, in which I think you ought to content the Scots, provided they will join with you, either for a good peace, or for a war. I confess that I would not give it all for nothing, as you have done for three years ; and permit me to tell you that I think if I could dispense with a thing which went against my conscience for three years, and all for nothing, I would go further to save my kingdom. But, in all other things, grant nothing more ; you have only granted too much already in the donation of all the places. You should have kept that, to gain some profit from it in the end, and you have given it them now for nothing, as well as giving up the bishops for three years.

I hear that Will. Murray desires you to authorise their

great seal, which is a thing you should never do, for by so doing, you would take upon yourself the blame of all the misfortunes in England, and confess yourself their author : if, in the conclusion of all, it was found fitting to do it, it should be in exchange for something very advantageous, which I do not see as yet. But the one is done : the other must not be done, and try to remedy what is done, that is by granting nothing more. This demands great care. It is the last blow of the party, and is without remedy. Think constantly of this, and I repeat again, grant nothing more, and suffer everything rather than give up the militia further than you have done : nor abandon your friends, on pretext of benefitting them, as they will try to persuade you ; nor Ireland, which I consider as a resource ; and do not take the covenant, nor approve their great seal, nor nullify your own.

Adieu, my dear heart.

You should no more impose the covenant upon other people than you should take it yourself, for all those who take it swear to punish all delinquents, that is all of your party, myself the first.

St. Germain, this $\frac{13^{\text{th}}}{23^{\text{rd}}}$ November.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 297.]

My dear heart,

Davenant hath given me a large account of the business where you are, upon which I must conclude with

more fear than hope. Yet I may believe, that if the Scots could find security for performing their duty, they will not consent to desert you, much less basely to deliver you up to them at Westminster. That which they have proposed concerning the coming of persons from me to you, (upon the occasion of giving you satisfaction, and receiving the like from you,) may be of great use to your affairs, in many respects; therefore I have appointed him (by a letter to W. Murray, who will acquaint you with the particulars) to encourage them in it; that they may again invite those persons, with such assurances as are fit for their safety, and the business. Pray do your part therein; and it may be an ease to you to refer the consideration of other things (unfit for you either to grant or deny) to their coming.

The last night, I received yours of the 1st of November, and your other melancholy one, to Jer[myn] Cul[pepper] and A[shburnham], together with the copy of the answer to the propositions sent you from London.* To the latter I am very ready to give you my opinion, which is, that you were better at once to grant all the propositions than send this, it being in effect the same thing; only with this difference, that in the other, there is their ingenuity of plain-dealing in asking, and your grace in granting; but in this there is the reproach of design to cozen you into what they would have. For by it, you do no less than totally abandon yourself, your authority, and your friends; therefore, I shall therein rely upon the

* Neither of the letters here mentioned occurs in the collection.

promise of your constancy to those principles which alone can preserve you.

For the other, your said proposition, it is of that nature, that you must not expect any present answer. I have appointed L[ord] Jer[myn] and L[ord] Cul[pepper], (for J[ack] As[burnham] is immediately to go to the Hague,—the jewels will otherwise be lost,—and to settle a friendship between P[rince] C[harles] and the P[rince] of O[range]), to attend Car[dinal] Maz[arin], and to take his opinion concerning that business, and then you shall hear further from me by an express. In the meantime, communicate it to nobody else, for it may be misinterpreted. I have one thing more to add, which is to conjure you, that till the Scots shall declare that they will not protect you, you do not think of making any escape from Eng[land]. They are startled here at the naming of it; and in so doing, you would destroy all our hopes (besides the danger in the attempt) in the general peace which*—well assures me is like to be made very suddenly. This is all for the present.

God keep you, my dear heart.

Endorsed by the king.

“From my wife, to be kept, being the advice—not stir afore.”

To Charles I.

[Ibid, vol. ii. p. 303.]

This day I received yours of the 21st, to which, being straitened in time, I shall answer in English, that it

* Here seems to be a name omitted, probably Cardinal Mazarin.

may be soonest put into cipher. In the first place, you conclude right, that nothing but the abundance of my love could make me take upon me the harsher part of pressing things which are unacceptable to you. But, where I find your interest so much concerned as it is, in your present resolution, I should be faultier than you, if I would suffer you to rest in such an error as would prove fatal to you. Therefore you may safely believe that no duty which I perform to you is accompanied with more kindness than when I oppose those opinions. I acknowledge that mistakes are the grounds of our differences in opinion; otherwise you would not so confidently think that your answer to the propositions sent me last week grants nothing about the militia, but according to the advice you have had from hence. Therein I shall refer you to the duplicate herewith sent you, to which I will only add my desires that you will carefully compare the draught sent you from hence with the other; and then you will find to what purpose the preamble serves, and what care there was taken here to make it, and the grant to persons of trust to be of a peace. If your message be not gone, there is no hurt done; if it be, get off from this rock as well as you can, according to the advice in those duplicates, and to your resolution expressed in your letter, not to admit any co-partners therein.

Touching the pulpits, and Presbyterian government, &c., I will not any more enter into dispute with you, finding that arguments of that nature have neither done you nor your business any good; only I may conclude

that if your offer shall not satisfy the Presbyterians, whom you desire to make yours, you must begin again, or leave the work undone. Neither can you expect that your subtlety in reserving the last determination, after three years, to you and the two Houses, will do the feat; no, they with whom you have to do, will be cunning to put you [to] explain yourself. I shall rest confidently upon your resolution now expressed, touching your friends, because you sufficiently know how much your honour and justice, as well as policy, is in the case. All I desire therein is, that you recede not from your demand of [a] general act of oblivion, for nothing less can secure you and them. The like was done to you in Scotland, which will be a general precedent here.

For the covenant, you know my opinion; after the entire consideration of it, we both fully agree therein; neither, as we are advertised from London, will it be stiffly insisted upon there; yet possibly, if the Scots shall prevail, and that only difference were in the case, they may consent to such alterations in it as may satisfy all of us, and confirm such a conjunction as you ought to desire. Therefore, I again desire you, upon conference with Will Murray or otherwise, to use your utmost endeavours that some [per]sons may be admitted to come privately to you and the Scots, to see, upon a full debate with them, if all things may not be reconciled to your and their satisfaction. If they would consent to such a meeting, I would have some hopes of good success; for the present, there appears to be poison in the pot—do not trust to your own cooking of it.

For the proposition to Bellièvre, I hate it. If any such thing should be made public, you are undone,—your enemies will make a malicious use of it. Be sure you never own it again in any discourse, otherwise than as intended as a foil or an hyperbole, or any otherways except in sober earnest. Consider well what I have written of; away [with] your message presently, without sharing the militia, and abandoning Ireland. Strike out the ten years out of the clause concerning offices, or the clause itself, which you will; it may be added in the clause, and the naming ten years implies that this Parliament should sit so long. Obtain the admitting of persons, and then we shall agree in the whole business, neither shall I then despair of seeing you again with comfort, which is the fullest happiness I wish for in this world.

Adieu, mon cher cœur!

Concerning the business of Constantinople, nothing can possibly be done till we hear further from Sir S. Crow, to whom I have sent some papers in your name, which may perhaps do him good. You must avow it, if it come to be questioned. But, if Sir S. Crow be of necessity to be recalled, Sir. W. Killigrew's pretence is next; and he writes that he shall get the consent of the company and the Parliament. And next to him, you are engaged for Sir R. Brown.

To Charles I.

[Ibid. vol. ii. p. 300.]

My dear heart,

I have received your letter, dated the 14th of

November, with your answer to the propositions from London, and I am greatly surprised to see that you have, for ten years, granted the militia into the hands of the Parliament, and not as you had so often written to us ; which was, to grant them the nomination of persons : thus the power had always remained in your hands, but now they have it entirely. And by that you have also confirmed to them the Parliament for ten years, which is as much as to say, that we shall never see an end to our troubles. For as long as the Parliament lasts, you are not king ; and as for me, I shall not again set my foot in England. And with the granting the militia, you have cut your own throat ; for having given them this power, you can no longer refuse them anything, not even my life, if they demand it from you ; but I shall not place myself in their hands. I would venture to say, if you had followed our advice, your affairs would be in a different state from what they are. I hope that your offers will [not] satisfy them in London, and if we are fortunate enough that this should be the case, I conjure you, for the last time, no more to grant anything at all. If you hold good, I see an appearance of return to our affairs ; but we must not absolutely grant anything more than you have done, since there is no more means of recalling it. If it is yet possible to recall the militia from the hands of the Parliament, and these propositions are not yet gone, do not make them. But if they are gone and are refused, do not risk giving any more on this fashion, whatever condition you may have for it. I have written to you so many times about it, not to grant

anything more, and insensibly you engage yourself to do it. Do you think that when I see you so resolute in the affair of the bishops, and so little in that which concerns yourself and your posterity, that I am not in great despair, after having so often warned you as I have done, and it avails nothing? I tell you again, for the last time, that if you grant more you are lost, and I shall never return to England, but shall go, and pray to God for you.

You ask my opinion on the Irish affair. I have already written to you about it many times. You must *not* abandon Ireland, unless you first see an advantageous and assured peace, but give the answer, that we have sent you. I am astonished that the Irish do not give themselves to some foreign king; you will force them to it at last, seeing themselves offered in sacrifice. I refer to Lord Jermyn and Lord Culpepper to tell you more, and also to Monsieur Bellièvre, who will receive orders from France very advantageous for you. If you will be as resolute in the affair of the militia, as you are for the bishops, I hope that all will yet be well. As for the covenant, I cannot counsel you to impose it on any one. I believe that there is as much harm, in making others take it, as in taking it oneself; and I believe you cannot take it without being lost. Be then constant upon it, as also not to trust yourself to any promise which they may make you, for the safety of your friends, as by an act of oblivion. I end, having taken medicine, praying God to assist you.

Adieu, my dear heart.

Paris, December $\frac{1^{\text{st}}}{11^{\text{th}}}$, 1646.

With these letters, the political portion of the correspondence of Henrietta Maria may be said to close, for although she still kept up intercourse with her husband's servants, and was ever actively engaged in forwarding his interests, and those of her son, her influence in political matters gradually decreased, when she had no longer the facilities of communication with the king. In May, 1647, a Major Bosville was detected, in rustic disguise, conveying letters from the queen to the king: he had read such parts of the letters as were not in cipher, and, on being questioned about their contents, he replied, "That she desired his majesty to seek his own privileges and rights, and secure his friends and settle the kingdom in peace, though she never come over into England again. That she did much detest the Irish for proclaiming war against Ormond. That she desired his majesty to give leave to Prince Charles to march out of Paris with the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the princes and nobles, lest he should be accounted a coward alone. That Prince Charles, at a great dancing with Mademoiselle, the Duke of Orleans' daughter, did dance the *branle*, and exceeded all the gallants there."*

"It was demanded of him," writes our journalist, "How he dared do such a thing as deliver letters to his majesty? He answered that if he could not have done it in the way he did, he would have done it openly before them all, if he had died for it. It was desired of his majesty to make known the contents of those letters:" he answered, "He was not to give account to any man living."†

It was decided, however, that as it was not a time of war, the major should not be summarily shot by martial law.‡ A few weeks later, a lady born, who is described as "a handsome lady, and wondrous bold, was suspected of visiting the king at Holmby, with

* Perf. Occur. April 16.

† Moderate Intelligencer, April 15.

‡ Harrington's Diary, May 11, 1647. Addit. MS. 10,114.

a design of conveying letters to him ; she was seized and searched : nothing was found upon her at the time, but a few days afterwards, a letter, all in cipher, was discovered to have been slipped by her behind the hangings near which she stood.

When the king was removed to Hampton Court, propositions for peace were made to Charles by the army in whose power he now was, and they were anxious to secure the *prestige* of the queen's real or seeming concurrence in their schemes. This at first afforded her the gleam of hope, which a change of masters was likely to realize, but a hope doomed to speedy disappointment, on the reconciliation of the factions of the army and the Parliament. One of their journals records that "Her majesty, having had an especial eye on the proceedings of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and his army, hath found all their actions, both towards her royal consort the king's majesty and his friends, and concerning the kingdom in general and the peace thereof, so full of honour and worth, that she doubts not but his excellency will prove an instrument of much good to this kingdom ; and that she doth now expect, upon the conclusion of such overtures between his majesty and the army, to enjoy the freedom of abode with his majesty and her children, in peace and safety, being very well satisfied of the resolutions of the army for the upholding of monarchy."*

A letter was forged, professing to be addressed to him by the queen, inclining towards the acceptance of the terms. Since the former attempts of this description, several of Henrietta's genuine letters had been published in "The King's Cabinet Opened." This, therefore, presents a much closer approximation to her style than the other forgeries, but its tone is in strong opposition to hers, which still breathed the spirit of death rather than submission. It is as follows :—

* Perf. Occurrences, August 27.

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.**

My dear heart,

As there could no occasion minister greater grief to my sorrowful heart, than to hear of a short adjournment of these unnatural divisions between you and your liege people, and presently to have the consuming flames of a new war, suddenly to break out afresh in your languishing kingdoms, so there could no welcomer news salute mine ear, than speedily to hear of a final period to be put to these unhappy distractions; that so the sweet harmony of desired peace and concord (which produceth most blessings,) may re-unite you and your subjects, and tie you fast each to other, in the sacred bands of love and unity, the only means, under God, to support your royal estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad. Therefore I shall desire your majesty to grant your Parliament and people, whatsoever with a good conscience and honour you may, for the further prevention of shedding of innocent blood, and preservation of those committed to your charge. Sir, assure yourself, nothing shall be displeasing to me, that pleaseth you, my lord; for I shall for ever esteem your good, and the good of all your faithful subjects, the only business of all my actions, and I shall be contented to share with you and them, not only in blessings, but even in the worst of calamities that can happen to a dis-

* Perf. Summary, 13 — 20th September, 1647.

consolate, and unjust banished wife ; but sir, I from my heart forgive all the opprobrious tongues and pens that have cast their calumnies on my unspotted integrity, and shall pray to the King of kings, and to your sacred majesty to do the like.

Concerning the propositions tendered your majesty, I humbly conceive the chief things to be considered will be two, conscience and policy ; for the first, I know it never entered into your royal thoughts to change the government by bishops, not only concurring with the most general opinion of most Christians in all ages, as being the best, but considering you hold yourself bound, by the oath you took at your coronation, not to alter the government of the church from what you found it. And, for the church's patrimony, you cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, without danger to your conscience, or breach of your coronation-oath ; but for whatsoever shall be offered, for the rectifying abuses crept into the church, in government or discipline, or for the ease of tender consciences, endangering not the foundation, I desire your majesty to lend a speedy ear unto, and give your gracious answer thereunto. For, as it is your majesty's duty to protect the church, so it is the church's duty to assist your majesty, in maintaining your just authority ; for, as your predecessors have been always careful to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown, without which (as I humbly conceive) it will scarcely sit fast upon your royal head, therefore, it much behoves your majesty to do nothing to change or

lessen this so necessary dependency. The other main proposition will be concerning the militia. Next to conscience, certainly there is no fitter subject for a king's quarrel, for without it, your majesty's power is but a shadow; and therefore by no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the known laws of the land. Yet for the speedy attainment of this so long looked-for and wished-for peace, prayed for by all good Christians, that your majesty may be pleased to permit the city of London, and all other strongholds and garrisons, with other military forts, to reside in the hands of the Parliament's Lord-General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, until articles be performed and agreed upon, to give such further assurance for performance of conditions, as your majesty shall judge necessary for the concluding of a firm and lasting peace, which being once settled, all things may return and run in their ancient channel.

I have received a petition from divers earls, lords, and gentlemen, now banished, and exempted from pardon, who desired that I would move your majesty to intercede between them and your Parliament, that the edge of so severe and sharp a censure as perpetual banishment may be abated by your great clemency, candour, and goodness, and they restored into favour, and their sequestrations taken off, when peace shall be firmly established, which I know your majesty's merciful disposition will, when you shall see time, consider of.

This, dear heart, understanding the commissioners were arrived at your court of Hampton, with propositions,

I thought good to put you in mind, that you have a care of your honour, and that, if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold.

Farewell, my dear heart; I cannot write any more, but that I am,

Absolutely yours.

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Montrose and His Times, vol. ii. p. 302.]

It is well known that, in obedience to the commands of his royal master, Montrose laid down his arms, and entered the service of the Emperor of Germany, until an opportunity offered of embracing the cause of Charles II.

Cousin,

As soon as I learnt that you had arrived in Holland, I was desirous to write this, that you might be assured of the constant value attached by me to the services which you have rendered to the king, my husband. I do not harbour a doubt that you will continue so to serve him, whenever it is in your power. What you have already done affords proofs, not to be mistaken, of what you will do. And you, I trust, will no less readily believe that there is nothing I would not do, within my power, to convince you of my gratitude. I have commissioned Ashburton to converse more particularly with you, of something which concerns the service of the king. Re-

ferring you to him, upon whom you may implicitly rely,
I conclude with the reiterated assurance, that I am very
sincerely, cousin,

Your affectionate cousin and constant friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 15th March, 1647.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

Cousin,

This bearer going to see you on the affairs of Ireland, I wish to accompany him with this letter, to beg you to remember what I have already said to you on this subject. He will inform you of the proposition of reconciling the Scotch and the Irish together; you will find it important enough for the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland, and the affairs of the king, my lord, to make you willing to contribute towards it what he desires from you. In this, as in anything else that you may be pleased to do for that country, I shall owe you a very great obligation. Entreating you to forgive all my importunities in this, and in many other things, I will assure you that I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

St. Germain, this 11th May, 1647.

To Sir William Dugdale.

[Hamper's Life of Dugdale, p. 23.]

This letter of pass is introduced to show how Henrietta Maria continued to queen it, even after the semblance of power had passed away from her grasp.

Henrietta Maria, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, to all lieutenant-generals, and governors of provinces and cities, all captains of castles and fortresses, all guards of ports and passages, and to all other having authority by land or sea — Greeting. Sir William Dugdale, an English gentleman, the bearer of these present, going into England, we pray all to grant to him such authority and assistance as he shall need on his journey, whichever route he may take, not only allowing him to pass and re-pass freely and safely, with his servants, goods, and baggage, but also to render him every help and service which he may require. Assuring them that in this we shall hold ourselves much indebted to them, and that, on a like occasion, we will return the same. In testimony whereof, we sign these presents with our own hand.

St. Germain-en-Laye, August 3rd, 1648.

To Lord Fairfax.

[Cary's Memorials of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 100.]

In the beginning of 1648, when the king was in the Isle of Wight, the queen, having in vain sought permission to visit him, ventured once again to write to him; her letters were seized, and their contents are thus described :*—

* Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 15 — 22, 1648.

“As for the intercepted letters, it is thus in brief; they were to be delivered to a gentlewoman in the castle, or in her absence, to Mistress Mary, who had relation to her, and so to be conveyed to Captain Mildmay, who is in ordinary attendance upon the king, being pensioner unto him many years ago. But the letters being discovered, there were found two from T. Darley, and two from N. D., and one from the queen, and another from the princess; that from the queen to the king, was to this effect—That during the sad condition in which he is, nothing can bring more comfort to her than to hear from him; she wonders that on the last return of the despatch, she heard nothing from him; she fears that the letters were intercepted. After this, she proceeds in her cabalry and mystical lock of numbers, and I cannot hear of any key that for the present hath words to unlock it; though something, it is said, is spoken of the Duke of York, and something concerning the north, but I decline from both, until further confirmation of it. In the end of her letters she writes outright in full letters, and imploreth the mercy of God for the preservation of his majesty, and his power for the destruction of his adversaries.”

Months passed away, each one rendering the cause of Charles I. more hopeless, until the queen's anxiety for the preservation of her husband took the place of all other feelings. Her next intercepted letter, written during the last attempt of the Parliament to treat with the king, records:—

“That the great differences throughout the cities of Paris, Rouen, and other parts adjacent, within the limits and bounds of the French territories, hath quite obstructed the design of his majesty's friends, for England, and that the English quarrel is so great in several parts of that kingdom, that no integrity or loyalty can appear visible to its sovereign; and therefore, seeing no means prevalent to advance his majesty's cause, her majesty desireth, that this present treaty may be the salve and balsam, to cure and heal all diseases, throughout his vast and bleeding nations; con-

cluding that she doth, in a deep sense, bewail the sad and intestine miseries of all his liege people whatsoever. Further desiring, that his majesty would be pleased to embrace all such counsels and consultations that may tend to the peace and tranquillity of his three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland."*

A resident at Paris thus communicated his sense of the queen's sentiments to a resident in England.

Endeared Sir,

Whereas (with much patience) I have long beheld the miseries of our distracted kingdom, and finding nothing more instrumental for the settling of a firm and lasting peace than the blessed treaty now on foot, I therefore thought requisite to cast my thoughts thereon, and to make it the choicest object of my affections, by endeavouring the propagating thereof in these parts, and clearing all scruples that may arise from the adverse party, which I find to be many. But her majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, hath declared the sense of the royal breast, touching the present work in dispute between the king and Parliament, and is pleased to cast a favourable construction thereon; and by reason of the many aspersions laid upon her majesty, representing her as an enemy to the peace of England, after consultation with her council at St. Germain, she resolved to declare her intentions and determinations to the view of the world, and gave express command to her secretary to draw up a declaration to be forthwith printed, the heads whereof are these:—

I.—That her majesty desires nothing more than a composure of all differences between her dread Sovereign Lord the King, and his two Houses of the Parliament of England, assembled at Westminster.

* A letter sent from the Queen of England to the king at Newport. 4to. Lond. 1648.

II.—That her majesty shall endeavour the propagating of this present treaty, and desire a speedy agreement between her sovereign and his two Houses, and so peace may be established throughout his realms and dominions.

III.—That her majesty shall endeavour the removing of all obstacles, that may retard or hinder this present work in hand, provided that she may enjoy the liberty of her conscience for herself and her family, according to the articles of both kingdoms.

That her majesty may be admitted to come for England (so soon as the articles of agreement are signed), and that she may be admitted to her royal consort, in honour, freedom, and safety.

These and many other particulars are contained in the said declaration, which is now extant amongst us, and are very satisfactory.

We hear that her majesty hath sent a letter to the Prince of Wales, dehorting him from an engagement with the Earl of Warwick, and to endeavour the settling of a peace between the king and Parliament, and it is hoped he will much incline to the said advice and council.

But here is a rumour that his highness hath sent propositions to the States of Holland, purporting his desires for the Dutch fleet to continue between the two navies, to hinder an engagement, that so the stately fabric of his father's shipping may be preserved, and the mutual league and covenant between the States and the Crown of England firmly kept and maintained.

In a word, great are our expectations for the tidings of peace, whose hearts thirst after unity and concord, which I desire may be communicated to him who remaineth,

Your most obliged and devoted friend,

L. VANDIEU.

Paris, 26th October, 1648.

The treaty failed, the queen's uneasiness increased, and waiving all scruples of ceremonial, she wrote to the Speakers of both

Houses of Parliament, and also to General Fairfax, requesting simply permission for safe-conduct to see her husband. The letters were sent to the House of Commons, but upon a debate, it was decided that they should be laid aside and not opened.* On each of the originals, appears the following endorsement:—

“This letter was never opened, but found sealed among the waste papers in the desk of the Parliament’s Office, till it was opened by William Goldsborough, Esq., clerk of the Parliament, March 20th, 168 $\frac{2}{3}$.”

Although the letters were not opened, the queen’s enemies did not scruple to misrepresent their contents, intimating that they demanded the speedy restoration of her dread sovereign lord the king, to his throne and his just rights and privileges.

The letter to Lord Fairfax is here given, along with one to the French agent resident in England, to whose charge the epistles were confided.

Right trusty, and right well beloved, we greet you well,

After having attended, with much impatiency, the issue of several negociations for the composure of the unhappy troubles of the kingdom of England, without the contentment at last of the fruits we had cause to hope, we can be no longer satisfied (as we were whilst those reasons of our expectation of returning, as became us, were in being), if we should not do all that remains in our power, to give unto ourself, and our dearest lord the king, the consolation of going to him. For which end, we desire of you, as we have done of the

* Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 1683.

two Houses of Parliament, your safe-conduct, touching which the ambassador of our dearest nephew, the most Christian king, will speak to you more particularly. Remitting you unto him, we bid you heartily farewell.

HENRIETTA MARIA.

From the Louvre, this 6th day of January, 1649.

*To M. de Grignan, French Ambassador in
England.*

[Miss Strickland's Queens, vol. viii. p. 145. From the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg.]

Monsieur de Grignan,

The state to which the king my lord finds himself reduced, will not let me expect to see him by the means he heretofore hoped. It is this that has brought me to the resolution of demanding of the two chambers, (both Houses of Parliament,) and the general of their army, passports to go to see him in England.

You will receive orders from the Cardinal (Mazarin), to do all that I entreat of you for this expedition, which will be to deliver the letters that I send you herewith, according to their address.

I have specified nothing to the Parliaments and to the general, but to give me the liberty to go see the king my lord; and I refer them to you, to tell them all I would say more particularly.

You must know then, that you are to ask passports for me to go there, to stay as long as they will permit

me, and to be at liberty all the time I may be there, and likewise all my people; in regard to whom it will be necessary to say, that I will send a list of those that I wish shall attend me, in order that if there are any in the number of them that may be suspected or obnoxious, they may be left behind.

There are letters for the Speakers of both Houses, and for the general. You will see all these persons, and let me know in what manner they receive the matter, and how you find them disposed to satisfy this wish. I dare not promise myself that they will accord me the liberty of going; I wish it too much to assure myself of it at a time when so little of what I desire succeeds; but if, by your negotiation, these passports can be obtained, I shall deem myself obliged to you all my life, as I shall, (whatever may happen,) for all the care you have taken, of which make no doubt.

I shall add no more, except to assure you that I am,
Monsieur de Grignan, most truly,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

From the Louvre, this 6th January, 1649.

To Charles II.

[Recueil Historique, vol. xix. fol. 211, MS. 574. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.]

The following letter, purporting to be written by Henrietta Maria to her son, who on the execution of his father, was now raised to

a titular kingship, is translated into English from an Italian version of it, by Geo. Franc. Biondo, preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, amongst the MSS. of Conrard, the first president of the French Institute. In that collection, it passes for an authentic letter: the style, which has gone through the medium of a twofold translation, can hardly be considered a criterion, but there is too much of painstaking in the composition; it seems to have been dictated in the main facts and sentiments by Henrietta, yet it was probably penned by her secretary. A discrepancy occurs in her description of the parting scene with Charles I. Henrietta did not leave him, with the avowed purpose of retiring to France; she went to seek security until the birth of her infant, and it was the course of after-events which led her to decide on that step: though Sabran's despatches prove that she had it in contemplation, as a *dernier ressort*, some months previously. Again, the statement that Prince Charles had often promised to become a Catholic, needs substantiating. On the other hand, the remarks in reference to her applying for aid from the Venetians, Genoese, &c., and other points, agree with fact. The MS. is corrected in several places, the translation having been evidently collated with the original French.

Dearest yet most unfortunate son,

Your most loving letter, with all its force of reason to console your most wretched mother, would have disinvolved the misfortunes of my life, but my horizon is too far from the poles: losing the title of queen, I have lost all my happiness in this life. I should scarcely know that I am a living woman, were it not for the affliction which, agitating my expiring body, destroys me by degrees. Our misfortunes are many: they would overwhelm hearts greater than ours, if any there were of nobler birth: and my pen trembles in my hand to re-

member the occasion. But I have been the artificer of my misfortunes, for I ought never to have left the king my lord and husband, and your most loving father, since if I could not have prevented an end so disproportionate to the so great worth of such a king, at least I should have had the consolation of accompanying him to prison and to the horrors of death, and our spirits, so united in life, would have mutually rejoiced to pass united to another life, where we could have smiled at the changes and wickedness of inimical fortune.

But you know, my dear son, what resistance I made to leave him, and that in my last adieus, embracing his royal knees, and supplicating your father and my lord not to permit this cruel separation, he raised me to his bosom and said, "Madam, extreme remedies are requisite for extreme evils, and of two evils we must choose the least; were you to remain with me, which would be my greatest consolation, who would liberate me from the hands and the snares of these ungrateful wretches, and who can procure me aid better than you? For mercy's sake, distress me no more by replying." And I found myself ten leagues distant from him, before I became conscious that I had left him, so much did grief overcome my natural senses.

My lamented king and husband judged well, and yet the issue of affairs, by the malignity of the same fortune which rendered my efforts useless, has rendered my leaving the kingdom unfortunate. If King Louis, my lord and brother, had survived, that day's deed had been a good one, because in his royal

heart, generosity, and a glorious object prevailed over any private interest whatsoever; but his ministers bear in mind the ancient enmity with England, and if they had wished to accomplish the ruin of Great Britain, they could not have done it more effectually. The queen, my sister-in-law, listened patiently to my complaints of our miserable state, and also a little to the first emotions and impulses of a queen, justly angry and unjustly oppressed. She pitied me, wept with me, remembered that she too was a queen and a mother, and promised me every assistance; but the very sun which gladdened me in the morning, went down upon my sorrow, for the council made difficulties of every thing. Had I believed Cardinal Mazarin, I should have thought he was putting to sea with the most powerful army that ever left France, for the help of our lost kingdoms; and I confess that at first he deceived me; but you know that I wrote you word that he acted like an Italian courtier, far from sincerely, and that all that he said was only a cheat to quiet me. Notwithstanding this, I remembered that I was a queen, the daughter of the great Henry, and I begged him, humiliating without abasing myself, to interpose at least his good offices to assist me with the Pope: but his answers were to discourage me, by speaking very ill of him, and of his favourite; notwithstanding which, my secretary, when he returned from Rome, told me just the contrary, and that the Pope was ready to help me, even to proclaiming a crusade, if the king my lord would have openly declared himself a Catholic.

I had it in contemplation to have personal recourse

to the King of Spain, my brother-in-law, who knew well that your father had ever preserved a great affection for his only sister, (a thorn which in his sweet conversation pierced my heart;) but I saw him so oppressed by wars which this sister had excited, in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and the heart of Spain, that I remembered what the king my lord and husband had said to me, that that monarch had not authority to dispose of his affairs without the council of his grandees, and that these are so proud, and consider themselves so little inferior to the king himself, that one of them reproved him for having married the infanta his daughter to the Duke of Savoy, saying it would have been better to unite her with his son, for neither would the infanta have thereby been a whit lowered, nor his son a whit elevated; therefore, I resolved that I would not take this long journey.

I did not act so with the Venetian ambassador, who spent hours in describing to me how he could have helped me. He is a great speaker, but without solidity, for he concluded that if crowned heads would only unite to ruin the Turks, then the Venetians would be able to fight our rebels with all their forces, and I might pre-
sage the conclusion of my evils. That is that if I could find means to clog the wheels of fortune, they would have found time to fulfil their promises. My sister, who has so large a share of my affection, would have helped me powerfully with money and troops, if her father-in-law had left her a rank conspicuous enough and free from his

magnates, and free from the miseries to which the poor princess was reduced. It only remained to ask a large loan of money from the Genoese, and I remember that you wrote to me to do so, but the treasures of all Europe, which are found in Genoa, were not as you, my son, wrote to me at the time, in the power of the public, but of private persons, and we could offer no security either for interest or reimbursement.

Now what aid could I hope, but from my very misfortunes? and if I did not permit myself to be disconcerted when I saw myself in my royal native apartments, less honoured and flattered than I was before I was married, I thought at all events that the indelible character of a daughter of the great Henry would have been a greater attraction to move the ministers of the crown of France, not only to aid me, but to pledge themselves to redress my fortunes. It happened, however, the other day, that a courier from Italy arriving with the certain news that the Duke of Modena had been humbled to ask pardon of the King of Spain, I said to the cardinal, who had remained behind the prince and ministers to condole with me on my misfortunes;—"If you had ventured for me and the justice of my cause, half the money and help you have given to Modena, uselessly, and so much against the will of France, with so many other treasures consumed from the treasury of your pupil, my nephew, for the farthering of your private interests in Italy, you would not have occasion to perform this office of con-

dolence;"* to which the cardinal made no reply, but took a hasty leave, showing by this mode of treating me, that he no longer recognized me as a queen, and the daughter of a French monarch. All this I have been anxious to say for my own justification, and that you may see that I have neglected nothing in my power to help our common cause; wherefore the injustice of fortune seems so much the greater, in separating me uselessly from my husband, my sole earthly good;—a consideration which should make you the more pity a poor and wretched widow, in the flood of her miserable emotions.

I have no other rainbow than that of remembering that I am your mother, and in your generous spirit it is well seen that you are the son of so great a father; and if God, who is above destiny, should please to re-place you on his throne, which I cannot hope to see in my few remaining days, you will show yourself still more so. But meanwhile, what can your wretched mother advise you? The crowns of Scotland and Ireland are doubtless fitting steps to bring you to your entire kingdom of Great Britain, yet, nevertheless, I fear the infidelity of the Scots, who for the price of a few pieces of money, sold the life of the king, your incomparable father, to the Parliament. My afflicted heart knows that if you declare yourself Catholic, as you have so often promised me, they will not think your title good; and if you do not do

* The Duke of Modena married Mazarin's niece.

so, with what affection will Ireland follow you? I will never believe that this promise will betray you, for he who fears God, cannot be faithless to his prince. Would it had pleased heaven that Henry VIII., your ancestor, had never apostatized from God! then would the kingdom of England not now have committed, with so detestable infidelity, so execrable a parricide to the king! Would that my father, the great Henry, could rise again, to read you a lecture on the manner in which you should govern these kingdoms! recommend yourself, however, to the Most High, that He may direct your actions to the desirable end;—as all the remaining hours of my few days will be for you, and to unite you with God, though I am so cast down and dispirited by grief, that I do not remember any more to say to you.

Yet my real afflictions do not make me forget your brothers, and that unfortunate Elizabeth. Oh! if before my death, I could see her out of the hands of the traitors, I could die content. To this at least, I will exhort you, to employ every force, to use every artifice, to withdraw so dear a part of my own heart, this innocent victim of their fury, your worthy sister, from London. Do it, I pray and conjure you, by the spirit of the king, my lord and your father.

Instead of the counsels which I could give you, and which you ask from me, you must receive all I have to give, which my secretary will deliver you in my name, with a most fervent embrace; that is, almost all the jewels which I have left, reserving two only, one for

Elizabeth, if I can give it to her, and the other for my own support, during my short residue of life; whilst, having taken leave of the court, I retire with only two maids, my secretary, and confessor, to private life, to finish my days with the least possible disturbance, disentangled from the world; and you may be even sure that my spirit, which hopes for eternal rest in imperturbable felicity, will ever pray for you and your happy success.

I conclude by remaining,

Yours as ever.

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Montrose and His Times, vol. ii. p. 372.]

It is said of the Marquis of Montrose, that on receiving tidings of the death of Charles I., he fell into a death-like fit, and only recovered from it to swear a soldier's oath, that he would avenge the father, and restore the son—or die in their cause. He fulfilled his pledge; he could not restore Charles II., but he perished in the attempt. His verses on the death of his master, sufficiently attest the boldness of his resolution:—

“Great God and just, could I but rate
My griefs and Thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once again.
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hand than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.”*

* Montrose and His Times, vol. ii. p. 368.

Cousin,

I have received your letter, by Pooley, and the assurances it conveys of your extending to the king, my son, that affection which you have always manifested in the service of the late king, my husband,—the murder committed on whose person ought to rouse all his servants into a passionate inclination to seek every means of avenging a death so abominably perpetrated,—and as I am persuaded you would be well pleased to find an opportunity of doing so, and will omit nothing on your part to further it, let me entreat you then, to unite with all your countrymen, who entertain a just indignation against that murder, and to forget all former differences. I can give you no better advice than this; and cousin, believe me to be, as truly I am, and shall ever remain,

Your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, March 10, 1649.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 7,003, fol. 15 b.]

Cousin,

I understand by my Lord Jermyn, that notwithstanding all the extremities to which you are reduced, you will not think of making any composition, to save yourself from these great miseries, without the king my son's approbation and mine. I am sufficiently assured of your affection and fidelity to tell you, that I think the

king cannot be displeased, that you should do what the late king his father permitted those to do who had served him, when he was not in a condition to assist them, not doubting but that, when you have opportunity, you will shew that it was only force that obliged you to do as you have done. And I cannot forbear pitying you, knowing well your repugnance to treat with these abominable villains. I will write to the king about it, and believe that wherever you are, the assurance I have of you will not hinder me from shewing, on every opportunity, that I am with truth, cousin,

Your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, April 16, 1649.

To the Duke of Hamilton.

[Burnet's Dukes of Hamilton, p. 414.]

On the 9th of March, 1649, James Marquis of Hamilton, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Preston, was beheaded for his adherence to the cause of Charles I. To his brother and successor, William Earl of Lanark, Henrietta Maria addressed the following note of condolence :—

Cousin,

Intending every day for a great while to have despatched Rainsford, I have not hitherto done that which my sense of the loss of my late cousin, the Duke of Hamilton, should have drawn from me long ago, which was to express the concern I had for his death; and though my own inexpressible loss hath made me incapable

of feeling anything else that can befall me in this world, yet it hath not made me insensible of your brother's death, both on his own account and on yours. For consolation, it is not easy for me to offer you any, being incapable of taking it to myself. We must turn ourselves to God, and receive it of him, for this world cannot afford it; yet if to bear a share in your affliction may in any way lessen some part of your grief, I am assured you shall find an allay to it: and I desire you may believe that no person wishes you more happiness than myself, who will study on all occasions to make it appear, that I am, with all sincerity, cousin,

Your very good and affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 22nd April, 1649.

To Mr. Denham.

[Historical MS. vol. i. Art. 39. Collection of Dawson Turner, Esq.]

As soon as the first burst of the queen's grief had subsided, and left her leisure to attend to state affairs, she sent Lord Byron into Holland, to urge upon the young king the propriety of going over to Ireland.* Her next step was to send him the following directions, which coincide with the hints as to his future conduct, given in the letter written on his father's death. The queen naturally favoured Ireland, and was anxious for her son to try his fortune there: so earnest was she in the prosecution of this object, that she pledged her few remaining jewels to provide him with the necessary means.†

* Carte Papers, vol. ii. p. 365. ,

† Newspapers, 1649.

Instructions for Mr. Denham, May 10th, 1649.

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

1.—You are to make all the diligence you shall be able, to attend the king, our son, and having delivered him your letters, shall make him know the great contentment we have received by his last, by the Lord Percy, touching the resolution of his speedy parting for his journey towards Ireland; and you shall, with your utmost skill, endeavour to make it evident to him, that his said parting is becoming, if possible, more necessary than ever, and that he ought not to lose any one minute that can be saved; and therefore, if it be not done already, to press him to name a positive day for it, beyond which no occasion, how pressing soever, shall prevail with him to stay.

2.—You are to let him know that we have endeavoured, this month past, and more, upon the consideration of the necessities of his parting and the difficulties, to have provided him with as much help towards his moving as we could, and that at last, not being able to promise any money, but by chance somewhat else that might have given him some little credit, we were resolved to have sent the Lord Jermyn therewith unto him, to have served him with it, and with what else might have depended upon his diligence for his said moving; but finding by the letters from himself, the Prince of Orange and others, and by my Lord Percy's account of things, that the resolution for his parting

was absolutely taken, and knowing besides, that the means for it could not be wanting, we did think fit to change our purpose of sending the Lord Jermyn, since he could have served but for that which could be resolved without him.

3.—You are to acquaint him, that the means we had found to have given him a little credit, was by the getting into our hands three or four rubies that were in pawn for some moneys here, which, since we have learned that he is furnished by another way, and that there is yet no resettlement for our subsistence from this court, but on the contrary our pressing wants continuing upon us, and perhaps that these rubies would not have raised presently much money in Holland, we have not thought it necessary to send them to him.

4.—You are to visit our son, the Prince of Orange, from us, and acquaint him with the full effect and substance, in all particulars, of your instructions, and to ask of him, if you find cause, to help for the hastening of the king's parting.

5.—You are to intreat our dearest son, the king, to send you back to us, as soon as he shall have named a day for his remove, and to let him know that, as soon as we shall hear of his being upon the way, we shall send the Lord Jermyn to him, who shall before go to this court, and concert there in what manner our said dearest son, the king, is to govern himself, touching the visit of the king, our dearest nephew, and the Queen Regent, and shall attend him with the orders in that behalf, and all

things necessary for his knowledge, before we shall see him.

6.—You shall acquaint our dearest son, the king, and his council, that according to our former opinions in relation to Scotland, upon the resolution which we conceived so necessary to be taken for his going into Ireland, wherein we have so frequently declared the importance of reconciling our friends of the Scotch nation to that council, we do again desire that all possible care might be used in that particular, and were therefore better pleased that you should now make this journey than any other, for that you are, by having had the managing of many things with some of that nation, very like to be acceptable to them and treated by them ; so that whatsoever the king and his council shall think fit to appoint you to do, in order to the end mentioned, you are to let them know you are ready for it, and they are desired to give you credence with the Scots.

7. You are from us to visit the Ambassador of Denmark, and to assure him, on our part, of the great esteem we have of his person, and the just sense of that affection which he hath always showed to us, and to our dearest son, the king, the continuance whereof we most earnestly desire, and that he would believe we shall be most ready, upon all occasions, to make appear to him our acknowledgments for it ; and if his wife be with him, you are to visit and make a compliment to her from us.

To the Marquis of Montrose.

[Montrose and his Times, vol. ii. p. 403.]

Burnet, in his History of his own Times, reports that Montrose, having boasted in an improper manner of the favour shewn him by the queen, fell into disgrace with her in 1648, and was not permitted to return to her presence. From this aspersion, their correspondence, published from the originals in the Montrose charter-chest, for the Maitland club, sufficiently vindicates him.

Cousin,

I have received one of your letters, dated from Denmark. I am greatly pleased to learn that you are in a condition to be of service to the king, my son. Believe me, there is no one more deeply interested than I am, or whose wishes are more for your happiness and success; and that, independently of the king's interests, for the sake of yourself; my attachment to you being such that I can never cast it off, whatever may befall you. I have too grateful a remembrance of the services which you rendered to the late king, my husband, ever to fail in these expressions; and this I implore you to believe. That I have many enemies, active in their endeavours to create a breach between me and my friends, I well know. I feel assured, however, that you will place no credit on any such reports regarding me, but give me that share in your confidence which I deserve; and that my conduct will prove to you with what sincerity I am,

Your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, December 1, 1649.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Montrose.

To the Duke of Lorraine.

[Clarendon Papers. Appendix, p. 19.]*

The position of the Duke of Lorraine was peculiar; driven out of his country by France, he retired with his army to Brussels, and hired himself and his troops, as occasion served, to the Spaniards, who found in them very effective assistants, in their war against the French. It was on this account, that in the time of Charles I., the French government had repeatedly offered to pay Lorraine's troops, if he would enter the service of England. Afterwards, several efforts were made to engage him to espouse the cause of Charles II., and lend the aid of his forces to the anti-parliamentarian party in Ireland; but this scheme also ultimately failed.

Cousin,

My Lord Taaffe, a person of quality and great merit, having been despatched from Ireland to the king, my son, by the Marquis of Ormond, and by all the Catholics in that kingdom, and having arrived here since the departure of my son for Scotland, I thought it was better to detain him some time, until I could learn in what manner those of his religion were received in that country; and I have sent part of his despatches by another person, which he thought it better to do, and he will not go there himself, till we have tidings. Among other things, he communicated to me a negotiation which concerns you, and for which he now seeks you. Great advantage may accrue from it to the affairs of the king my

* A letter, similar in tenor, dated Nov. 18, occurs on the following page.

son ; and it seems to me, from what I understand of the matter, that the satisfaction may be given you which was proposed, by those who have spoken about it on our part. I refer myself to my Lord Taaffe to give you the particulars, and will content myself with recommending to you this affair and him, who deserves all the civilities you can pay him. You may trust him entirely, and the assurances which I have earnestly begged him to give you, that I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To my cousin, the Duke of Lorraine.

Paris, October 4, 1650.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The Duke of York, weary of poverty and inactivity at the French court, at last resolved to leave it, much against his mother's wishes ; she feared that, if he went to Brussels, he might, as ultimately he did, join the Spanish army against France. The following explanation of his conduct, was given by the queen to the French minister.

Cousin,

I see, by the letter I received from you in answer to mine, the continuance of your affection in all that concerns me. If I could say to you more than I have already done, to shew you my sense of it, I would do so. I hope you sufficiently believe what I have already said. Not to repeat that, I will content myself now by giving you the account of the departure of my son, the Duke of

York, whom, as I had sent you word, I thought of sending to Holland, in order to be at no charge here ; but having had news of the defeat of the Scotch, I did not consider Holland a proper place to go to, the reasons for which Montague has explained to you : I persuaded him, since the queen had the kindness to permit him, to go to serve in the army, and I must confess my small influence with him ; he has chosen to go to Flanders, and without telling me his design, saying that he had sworn not to do it, but he has promised me not to take employment against France. I ought to be ashamed to avow to any one this affair between the Duke of York and myself, but with you I wish to use the freedom in all my own affairs, of which I have always made profession to you ; and I protest to you that it is very contrary to my inclination that he is gone to Flanders, and I pray you to assure the queen of this from me, and to believe me, as I truly am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, October 8, 1650.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

This letter is undated, but was probably written in August, 1650, when Charles II. was anxious to be enabled to leave Paris, and to try his fortunes in Scotland.

Cousin,

The affairs of the king, my son, of which this bearer will inform you, oblige him to leave here as quickly as

possible, which he is strongly resolved to do; he only waits the means, to which I beg you to contribute, as you have always done to all that concerns us. This bearer will tell you that the affairs of England and Scotland make us hope for some advantage from the presence of the king, my son, in Scotland, where he will go, as opportunity may present itself, with much resolution, and he is impatient for his departure hence, which only depend on the means which this bearer will propose to you, who has no need of other credence. I place so great reliance on your friendship, that I hope for very prompt despatch, on this occasion so important for us. I will say no more, except that I am, my cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

To the Prioress of Chaillot.

[Iconographie Francaise. Vol. ii.] †

The young king, in due time, set out for Scotland, but his success was by no means equal to his hopes. The following inedited letter records the queen's feelings during his absence:—

“ Sir,*

“ The news of the Parliament's forces getting into Fife, and of the overthrow they have given there to part of the king's army, (the first news whereof came hither from London on yesterday, was sennight in the evening,) hath very much surprised and astonished those of the Louvre, as being altogether besides their expectations; the several letters and relations which they have

* French Correspondence, 1651. State Paper Office.

had thence from time to time, and but very lately, of the hopeful posture of the king and his forces, having given them grounds to imagine and look for events of quite another nature. And not only the rest, but even the queen herself, whose nature and custom is not to have her mind much wrought upon by any accidents that fall out at a distance, is more than ordinarily troubled at this disaster; she taking the affairs of Scotland so much more to heart, because she hath had a peculiar influence on them, and hath been the principal author of the king's going thither, which maketh the contrary faction of Royalists to impute all the evil successes to her in a particular manner. But all of them agree in this, that though they confess this accident to be bad, and of an evil consequence, yet they are no ways quite out of heart with it, nor have lost their hopes that all will go yet according to their wishes, as persuading themselves that the king and his forces, being sufficiently able to deal with that part of the Parliament's army, which is remaining in Lothian, will suddenly fight them; and having overcome them by an absolute victory, or got but some notable advantage of them, will thereby have their way opened unto them, for to march into England, where, if they could but once set their foot, all would go well afterwards.

“The Queen of France, no ways a friend to the Parliament of England, having understood the aforesaid news, this day was sent night, and apprehending them under a worse notion yet, than the British Royalists do, said that they must by all means be concealed from the Queen of England, lest they should make too deep an impression upon her mind and health; and having understood afterwards that she had been told of them, she went on Monday to Chaillot, for to comfort her, and staid a great while with her, there having been a great deal of kindness between them of late: yet those verbal comforts were not all accompanied with any real ones, to the ministering whereof, as she was never very forward yet, in the behalf of her sister of England, so now, though she had never so good a mind that way, she is not in a case of doing

anything, because of the great disorders and distractions of this state, greater at this time than ever.

“Besides these vexations of ill success in Scotland, the English queen is likely to meet with another shortly, of little moment in itself, but very greatly valued by her, viz. the loss of her beloved and most delicious retiring place at Chaillot. For that house having been sold, by the creditors of the late Marshal de Bassompierre, in the absence of the Count de Tilliers, the said marshal’s kin, he will not stand now to the bargain, both because the house was sold at an under rate, for six thousand pistoles only, whereas it is well worth twelve or fourteen, and because he hath a mind to the house for himself, the which cannot well be denied him, the law here being that whatever part of a deceased person’s estate is sold in that manner, the next of kin may come to take possession of it, paying the money that it was sold for, if he will claim his right within a year and a day; so as the case being so clear on Count Tilliers’ side, the English queen will have much ado to hinder him in it; the which nevertheless she laboureth to do, and that with as much earnestness as if the matter were of far greater consequence. For although Count Tilliers professeth that when he shall have recovered his house from the nuns, the queen shall still be welcome to it, and may continue to come thither, and to stay there, when, and as long as ever she pleaseth, yet she looketh upon that as a mere compliment, and so is no ways satisfied with it.”

“Paris, August $\frac{9\text{th}}{19\text{th}}$, 1651.”

Some particulars of this foundation by Henrietta Maria of a nunnery at Chaillot, occur in the despatches of Sir Richard Brown, resident at Paris, which are in the British Museum.

“Her majesty, to prevent what obstruction might proceed from a request the *bons hommes* at Chaillot were ready inhumanely to make, against the erection of a neighbouring nunnery, did suddenly transport her nuns, to take possession of Bassompierre’s house, and

sent hither her own goods and furniture. Since which, the Countess of Tilliers, sister to Bassompierre, hath formed another legal opposition: but our good queen hopes to surmount all these difficulties, and render herself the pious author of a royal foundation."

June 24, 1651.

"These two queens have both of them been to visit the inchoative nunnery at Chaillot, where her majesty assisted at the first mass: that business in appearance going so to her contentment."

July 1.

"The new nunnery, in which our good queen takes so much delight, is that which was Marshal Bassompierre's pleasant house, upon the side of the hill at Chaillot, at the end of queen mother's course, into which there are ten or twelve nuns, with an abbess, transported from a nunnery (the filiæ Sanctæ Mariæ), near the Bastile, to which our queen used to go, since she left the Carmelites; for this house there hath been between six thousand and seven thousand pistoles paid, it is not known by whom, and the queen is the reputative foundress, under whose name it is dignified with the title and privileges of a royal foundation."*

August 19.

This letter to the superior of her nunnery, was written at the juncture when the queen was in the utmost anxiety on account of her son, whose defeat at Worcester was known, but his escape still uncertain.

Mother,

I cannot go to-day to Chaillot, as I intended when I left, for I have found here more business than I expected, not having yet been to the Palais Royal, on account

* Addit. MS. 12,184, ff. 264, 265, 280.

of the bad news from England, which nevertheless I hope is not quite so unfortunate as it is represented. My uneasiness renders me unfit for anything, until I receive the news which will arrive to-night. Pray to God for the king, my son, and believe me, mother,

Your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Friday morning.

To the reverend mother, prioress of the daughters
of the visitation of St. Mary of Chaillot.

The delight of the queen, when her son returned to Paris, after all his romantic and perilous adventures, too well known to need allusion here, is thus recorded in a despatch of $\frac{1^{\text{st}}}{11^{\text{th}}}$ November.

“The queen keeps altogether at the Louvre, since the king’s coming hither; only on Monday last in the afternoon, she went down to Chaillot, with an intention to stay there two or three days, for to take physic, which having done, she came back again on Thursday evening. She is constantly wonderful merry, and seemeth to be overjoyed to see the king safe near her, but he is very sad, and sombre for the most part; that cheerfulness which, against his nature, he strove to shew at his first coming hither, having lasted but a few days; and he is very silent always, whether he be with his mother, or in any other company.” *

* Addit. MS. 12,184, Sir Richard Brown’s despatch.

To the Duke of York.

[* Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The recognition by the French government of the validity of the English Parliament, was occasioned by their fear lest the Parliament should take the part of the Prince of Condé, against the government, in the internal dissensions with which France was disturbed. M. de Bourdeaux was the agent sent over, and his errand caused great distress to the queen, which she thus communicated to the Duke of York.

My son,

This letter is to inform you that they have sent an embassy from hence to England, to recognise the infamous traitors, notwithstanding all the reasons we have been able to give against it; and upon this, the king, your brother, has resolved to go away, and has already spoken to the queen about it. I have not yet formed any resolution on your behalf; therefore you must still act as if you were ignorant of this embassy, and in case any one speaks to you of it, say that you cannot believe it: do this till we can ascertain what course you must take. I should much like to know your own opinion, what you would desire to do, and then I will let you know mine, which I can assure you will always be to satisfy you as much as possible, and to make you as happy as you can be, in all sorts of times. I know not whether the king, your brother, may not have told you all this, but at all events I wished to inform you of it. When I have cared for you, I shall care for myself, and I will let you

know any resolutions that I may take. I confess to you that, since my great misfortune, I have felt nothing equal to this.

God have you in his holy protection, and give you the patience needful to support this stroke. I pray to him to preserve you, and believe that I am, more fully than I can tell you, my son,

Your kind and affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Chaillot, 15th December, 1652.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.]*

The Duke of York soon returned to Paris, and accepted a post which was the prerogative of the second son of Scotland, that of captain of a guard of one hundred and fifty Scottish *gens d'armes*, who were in attendance upon the person of the French King. This was exchanged some months later, for that of volunteer, in the army headed by Marshal Turenne, for which he departed on the 3rd of July, 1653, gaily telling his brother that he was now going to fight for his bread, but hoped soon to fight to regain Charles' lost kingdoms.† His prospective departure elicited the following note:—

Cousin,

My son, the Duke of York, having no stronger desire than that of going to serve the king, my nephew, as you have always shewn him kindness, I request still on this occasion that you would be pleased to continue it, and to believe that you are obliging two persons who will seek

* This also is printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 25, in French.

† *Thurloe Papers*, vol. i. p. 319.

opportunities of shewing their gratitude to you; I more particularly, who am, with the greatest sincerity, cousin,

Your most affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, April 19th, 1652.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 7,003, fol. 14.]

Cousin,

I understand by Tuke that you fear I have forgotten you. I am very glad to assure you of the contrary by him, and to tell you by this letter, that I have too strong a remembrance of the services which you have done, and of the proofs which I have always received of your affection, to be capable of such ingratitude as that; I pray you to believe that I am, and shall always be, as I have promised you, cousin,

Your very good and affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, June 3, 1653.

To my cousin, the Marquis of Newcastle.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645, Art. 95. Holograph.]

The following interesting series of little notes to Charles II. form part of a small but valuable collection of Stuart Papers in the Lambeth library, where they still exist, in the queen's hand writing. The first two relate to a journey made by Charles II., and his sister, the princess royal, from Cologne, where he was then residing, to Frankfort fair; in the course of which they en-

countered the far-famed Christina of Sweden, who for the time being, gained more renown by her abdication of the crown, than she would have done by the most brilliant successes as queen.*

My son,

I hope that this letter will find you returned from your journey; it will only be to tell you that my Lord Jermyn writes to you of his journey to Fontainebleau, and of all that has passed between him and the cardinal. Therefore, referring myself to him, I will not say more, having taken medicine to-day, than to assure you always, that I am, my son,

Your very affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, October 22, 1655.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 96. Holograph.]

My son,

I am very glad to hear of your return to Cologne in good health, and that you are so well satisfied with your journey as they tell me you are. I understand you have seen the Queen of Sweden, and beg you to send me word if you find that what people say about her person and disposition is true. I should be very glad to know it.

As for the news from here, the court returned the day before yesterday from Fontainebleau. The king is

* For particulars of the interview, see *Princesses of England*, vol. vi. pp. 230-1.

perfectly well,* and is so grown and improved, that nothing could be more so. If Madame de Fiennes knew what I was writing to you, she would tell you that I am so partial to the king, that I am in love with him. It is true that now he treats me like another person, and has become the most civil being in the world. These are all the news that I can send you for the present, except, at the very instant I am writing, the queen has just sent me some stuff of cloth of silver, as beautiful as can be seen, to make me a bed of. I fear that Madame de Fiennes will be offended with me, for meddling with sending you the news from here—but that I may not run upon anything else, I will end, assuring you in good faith of what ought not to be new to you, and can never change, which is that I am, with all my heart, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, this 29th October, 1655.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 97. Holograph.]

On October 23rd, 1655, a peace was signed between Cromwell and France; under these circumstances, the queen no longer deemed it suitable for her younger son to serve in the army of a power in alliance with her foes, and she hastened to remove him from France altogether.

My son,

I did not write to you last week, because I waited

* The young Louis XIV., then 17 years of age.

the return of your brother, whom I sent for, as soon as I was assured of the conclusion of the peace with Cromwell, not judging it expedient that he should remain any longer with the army, after that peace. He is now returned, and we await the arrival of the cardinal to see what may be expected from here, as well for his subsistence as for other things. Next week, we will let you know all that can be expected, and also something else which is not yet ready to be written. The Duke of York and Jermyn will give you a fuller account of all this. Therefore, I will refer myself to them, and will not trouble you further, than to assure you always that I am, more than I can say,

My son, your very affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 26th November, 1655.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 98. Holograph.]

My son,

This week is so barren of news, that if it were not for the *feux de joye* for the peace, there would be nothing to write about—but they have been so great, that we feared Paris would be burned. It is true that they have been in the fire-places, for before the doors fires have not been made, and in fact, all the people of Paris would not make them, notwithstanding all the commands; and indeed, some of the citizens, seeing their neighbours make

them, went to extinguish them.* The truth is, that this peace is held in disgust everywhere : this great pomp of peace, which that wretch Cromwell had so greatly desired, will little satisfy him, I believe. I pray God all the rest of the effects may be the same. This is all that I will say to you at this time, and that I am,

My son, your affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 10th December, (1655).

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art .99. Holograph.]

The alliance between Cromwell and France naturally threw the English Royalists into the arms of Spain ; and the queen, though a pensioner in her native country, was compelled by circumstances to sanction this coalition between her sons and the King of Spain and regent archduke in Flanders.

My son,

I am very glad to learn from your letter, the compliments which the archduke has sent you through Sir Henry de Vic. I will hope that the Count of Fuensaldaga

* Hannibal Sestate, writing to the king the same day, remarks on the scantiness of the bon-fires, and that people cared as little to go near them, as though it had been the dog days ; and that a preacher in the oratory, in a sermon delivered before the king and queen, did not hesitate to express his regret that a general European peace had not been made, and the king of Great Britain re-established.—Lambeth MS. 646, art 55.

will go beyond compliments, and come to the sword Nevertheless, I believe that nothing will be done, till he has had their courier from Spain. For my part, I cannot understand that the Spaniards have anything to call for wary management, as concerns Cromwell, for certainly he is resolved to ruin them ; they have nothing to do, but to join us. I pray God that he may be of this opinion.

I think that this letter will not reach your hands until the new year, which I wish may be happier to you than those which you have passed, and such as you could wish it ; praying God to bless you, and to give me the means of showing you, how much I am,

My son, your very affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Chaillot, December 24th, 1655.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 101. Holograph.]

The following letters refer to a visit paid by Mary, Princess of Orange, to her mother, in the spring of 1656 ; it took place in spite of the objections of Charles II., who did not relish the idea of his sister's visiting France, when that power was in opposition to his interests. The queen argued that it was a visit not of policy, but of private affection.

My son,

I have received your letter, in answer to that which I wrote you touching my daughter's coming, and although

I do not wish to enter further on this business, being entirely satisfied that her visit cannot prejudice you in any way, I will only say, that you have mistaken something in mine; for I did not write to you that you had sent me word, that her coming to Paris would prejudice the affairs of the Prince of Orange more than going to Spa or to Cologne. Certainly, if you understood it in this manner, I have explained myself badly; but I will speak no more of this, but come to an affair of another kind, on which secrecy has been very strictly demanded from me, and is also demanded from you. Monsieur d'Aniens came to me yesterday, to communicate to me that a certain gentleman, who is a great mathematician, wished to write you a letter, touching what, by his art, he had seen should happen to your affairs. I willingly undertook to send the letter to you, as it appears to me not unsuitable. You must know that this man has accurately predicted all that has happened to the cardinal, and also many other things as to the Prince of Condé. He is a Frenchman, but of Irish descent, as you will see by his name. He is a Huguenot; he complains much that the secretary is not at Cologne, and is so much afraid lest you should read this to any one, that I have engaged that you shall not do so; for he has some merchandise in England, and he says that if Cromwell should get to know that he had spoken of this, that he would cause it to be taken. Although in these things there is not much to trust to, nevertheless what we wish we allow ourselves easily to be taken with. I pray God that he

may be a true prophet;* with that I finish, and am,
My son, your affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, January 2, 1655.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 102. French Holograph.]

My son,

I leave to better pens than mine, to relate to you the arrival of your sister, who has been truly most favourably received. I have to tell you that she pleases greatly here, from the greatest to the least. She has been to-day so overwhelmed with visitors, that I am dead with it, and this must serve as my excuse that I say no more, except that I am,

My son, your affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, February 4th, 1656.

To the king, my son.

* In reference to this fortune teller, Jermyn, writing to the king, January 21st, 1656, says, "I never saw the discourse of future things in a more sober style. I am sorry I am not acquainted with the man. I never met more temptation to hearken after that art, and 'tis most true, that whether by skill or chance, I cannot tell, but he has in other particulars encountered with miraculous happiness, in the persons of the cardinal and Prince of Condé, and in the revolutions of this court."

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 103.]

My son,

By your last letter, I see that you are expecting news from Spain. I hope that they will be according to your desires, since war is declared with Cromwell. I also expect their arrival with all imaginable impatience. I pray God they may be according to your desires. Your sister will tell you of all that is done here. I think she is very weary of visitors from morning till evening: she has enough for me too. I am almost dead with them, but you who know France, know well enough that after the first influx, there is rest enough. This is my hope.

As to news, that which is spoken of to-day will be known to you before this reaches you. It is that the Prince [of Condé], his wife, and his son, are at Rocroy, which makes everybody here eager about a compromise with him. I think this news so important that I could not refrain from sending it you, for it would be a great obstacle removed out of the way of the general peace, which is the thing of all others most to be desired by us. God send it us, and give us all happiness in this world and in the other. This is the most earnest wish for you in the heart of, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, February 18, 1656.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 104. Holograph.]

My son,

If I do not write to you oftener, it is not for want of earnestness in your service, but being so useless to you as I am, I avoid importuning you with my letters, knowing well that you would reply to them, and that perhaps you might thereby be interrupted in your affairs, of which you have enough at the present time. I pray God that they may succeed as well as you can desire; and beg you to believe this is the wish of, my son,

Your very affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 6th October, 1656.

To the king, my son.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

An attack of illness which seized Louis XIV. forms the subject of this letter.

Cousin,

Although there is nothing in the illness of the king, my nephew, which causes me alarm, I could not satisfy myself without sending this gentleman to hear more particular tidings of him, and to show the queen and you my just grief in this affair. You will easily believe, that if I could be less sensibly touched than I am, for the reasons which immediately influence me, I should be as much so

as any person in the world, for the interest which I shall always take in all that concerns you, for good or evil. I pray God with all the strength of my soul, to give us speedily the issue which we desire, and I shall die, cousin,

Your very affectionate Cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, July 7th, 1657.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 105. Holograph.]

Charles II. tired of inaction, persisted in serving as a volunteer in the armies of Spain, in Flanders, and in the attempt upon Mardike, he was a gallant actor in the field; this gave sufficient ground for a rumour which rapidly made its way to Paris, that he had been seriously wounded.

My son,

I am very glad that the report which has been carried is not true, as you send me word by your last letter. It is true that news is always exaggerated, and that we easily believe what we fear. It is not, however, altogether unreasonable that I should beg of you to be more careful of yourself than you are. Although I do not doubt that God is reserving you for better times, yet you also should not tempt him, and should take care of yourself; my prayers too will not be wanting, if they are worth anything.

I think you will be as much surprised with the death of Madame Roquelaure as we have been here—she was

ill so short a time; it is a great loss, her husband is inconsolable. This is all the news as present, and I will trouble you no further, except to assure you that I am, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 21st December, 1657.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. 645, Art. 106. French Holograph.]

On May 7th, the queen, with her younger daughter, Henrietta Anne, the only child who remained with her, again visited the baths of Bourbon, where she was joined by her brother Gaston, Duke of Orleans and his family. She returned on June 7th to Paris.

The meeting of Charles II. with the Princess Royal here mentioned, took place at Sevenbergen, near Breda, on June 19th. The "business of Dunkirk," alluded to, was the rash conduct of the young dukes of York and Gloucester, who narrowly escaped being taken prisoners, through their daring in resisting the French attack upon Dunkirk.

Lord Jermyn writes on the same day, "The uncertainty, till this day, of what has become of the dukes of York and Gloucester hath been new perplexity, so that you may well believe she [the queen] hath passed her time as ill as you can imagine."

My son,

Since my return from Bourbon, I have been constantly taking medicine, which has prevented my earlier writing and replying to your letters. I am quite glad that your sister will have the delight of seeing you. I only wish we were in a condition to be able to meet altogether. I assure you that this is my daily prayer.

You know all that has passed about that business of Dunkirk. I have been in the greatest possible apprehensions for your brothers, and I spend my time ill enough here, seeing all that passes. You may well imagine that I suffer much myself. I hope that the good God will at length put an end to our misfortunes, and will re-establish us in spite of all the world, and will yet grant me life enough to see for myself that happy day. Believe that these are the ardent wishes of, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

I thank you about the affair of Arpe. I am quite obliged to you for it.

Paris, 21st June, 1658.

To the king, my son,

To Madame de Motteville.

[Motteville Memoires, vol. iv. p. 433.]

The two following letters relate to the death of Cromwell. The former was addressed to Madame de Motteville, one of the queen's intimate friends, to whose charming biography posterity is indebted for many particulars of the history of the queen, written from her own lips.

You have reason to accuse me of little sensibility to the proofs of friendship given me by my friends, if I did not tell you that your letter, although dated Sunday, did not reach me till this morning. In truth, I thought you would hear with joy of the death of that wretch: yet, whether it be because my heart is so wrapped up in melancholy as to be incapable of receiving any, or that I

do not as yet perceive any good advantages likely to accrue to us from it, I will confess to you, that I have not felt myself any very great rejoicing, my greatest being to witness that of my friends. I beg you heartily to thank Madame du Plessis, and Mdlle. de Bellenave. I would gladly have been the fourth in your company, to rejoice with you. I would fain say many loving things to you, but there are more in my heart than I can express, and my actions must show you them at all opportunities. I entreat you to believe it, or you will wrong me, for I am your friend, from the bottom of my heart.

18th September, 1658.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 107. Holograph.]

My son,

I have received your letter, in reply to that I wrote you by Tom Cook, and for the present can add nothing to what you have hitherto had from me, viz.—that as you have nothing to propose, you must wait for opportunities. When you command me in anything for your service, you shall find me as ready as I have ever been. What you wrote me concerning the cardinal, has been very well received. We must wait opportunities to avail ourselves of them. I assure you I will let none slip. I beg you to be persuaded of this, and that I am,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 4th October, 1658.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 108. French Holograph.]

My son,

Jermyn has given me your letter, and told me what you ordered him to say to me. I can assure you that I shall lose no opportunity of serving you, without doing so, and shall do nothing which could in any possible manner be prejudicial to you. Believe this I beg you.

The court is going a grand journey, as you will know; but if there be anything to do, this will not hinder it, for I can always send thither. This is all that I have to say to you, and that I pray God to bless you, and am, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 18th October, 1658.

To the king, my son.

To the Marquis of Newcastle.

[Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 14.]

One effect of Cromwell's death was a desire on the part of the queen to renew her associations with those of the English Royalists on whom she could rely for aid, should any movement take place in favour of Charles II.

Cousin,

I have received your letter and the book you sent me, for which I thank you, and I am very glad to see that you still remember me. I beg you to believe that I

shall never forget you, but that I shall seek every opportunity of testifying the continuance of my esteem for you, and that I am with great truth, cousin,

Your very good and affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, November 10th, 1658.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 110. French Holograph.]

My son,

I have received your letter, and though I have not much to write to you about at present, I hope I shall have occasion to do so. It seems to me that our affairs look as though there were something good to be hoped for. You may judge that I shall allow no opportunity to be lost of serving you, in what you shall judge fitting. This is all that I have to say for the present, and that I am, my son,

Your most affectionate mother,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, 18th November, 1658.

To the king, my son.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The circumstances of the dispute between Mary, Princess of Orange, and her mother-in-law, the Princess Dowager, touching the government of Orange, are detailed at length in the

biography of the former princess.* The two following letters were written by the queen in behalf of her daughter's interests.

Cousin,

Having advices from Orange, that the governor is preparing to refuse to recognise my daughter,—although she has been declared regent with all the customary forms,—I thought it necessary to let you know this, and at the same time, to beg you to remember the promise you made me in parting, that you would do all you could to secure obedience to her. I have forbidden her to accept the regency on this condition, foreseeing that neither she nor I can do anything more for this purpose I know not yet what in particular I may have to ask from you, but in a few days I shall be better informed of what is passing : meanwhile I will tell you that you will be spoken to on the governor's part, and I will not only pray you to take into consideration the misfortune it would be to me to see my daughter abandoned, but sustain myself with the assurance I ought to take, in what you made me hope when I spoke to you of this affair ; conjuring you to believe that, in this *rencontre*, and in all other things that concerns me, I shall always be careful in what I do, and that in all truth I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate covsin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, November 18th, 1658.

* Princesses of England, vol. vi. p. 281.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Ibid.]

Cousin,

My daughter sending the *Sieur de Ricconniers*, Dean of the Parliament of Orange, and the *Sieur de Silvius*, one of her gentlemen in ordinary into that country, for the affairs that she has pressing there, I have charged them with this letter, by which I have only to pray you to hear and believe them in what they will tell you from me, and not being for any other thing, will give you no more trouble than to pray you to believe that I am, with all truth, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, November 20th, 1658.

A third note to Mazarin, but unimportant, on the same subject, dated March 3rd, 1660, was in the collection of M. Donnadieu, now dispersed.

A previous attempt of the English queen upon the independence of Orange with a more selfish object, is detailed in a private letter from Paris in 1651, as follows:—

“As the English Queen* must not expect any moneys of the Queen Regent for her son, the king, whatever his exigencies be, so she was lately in a way of having procured a great deal herself, if a certain plot, wherein the Queen Regent gave her all possible furtherance, had succeeded. For after that the enterprise of the young Princess of Orange, for the getting of Orange into her

* French Correspondence, August $\frac{9\text{th}}{19\text{th}}$, 1651. State Paper Office.

power had failed, through the discovery and apprehending of him that had the chief conduct of it, who still sits prisoner in Orange, the queen hath undertook, with her daughter's consent and approbation, to get that place into her own hands; and having for that end got a company of resolute men together, she sent them down, with instructions for to surprise the castle, and to make away with the governor, together with the trustiest of his friends and servants; after which, that they might not want sufficient strength for to subdue fully that town and principality, and for to curb or expel all persons contrary to them, order was given by the Queen-Regent to the Governor of Pont-saint-esprit, and to those of other neighbouring garrisons, to give them all necessary assistance, for the perfecting of their design, when they should be required by them. But some of the Queen-Regent's letters to those governors having been intercepted, and thereby the plot being come to the knowledge of the Governor of Orange, before it was come to its maturity, he hath thereby had the means to provide for his own, and the place's safety, and to make that plot to miscarry; the which, if it had taken effect, the English Queen was resolved to have sold Orange out of hand, either to the King of France or to the Pope, who would have been content to have paid very largely for it. And for as much as it would have caused the extirpation of the reformed religion out of that principality, that maketh the French Protestants to be very much incensed against the English Queen, for that wicked contrivance," &c.

To Charles II.

[Carte Letters, vol. ii. p. 186.]

The resignation of Richard Cromwell seemed to open a fairer prospect for the English Royalists than the death of his father. The following hints were given to Charles II. by his mother, in reference to his expected journey to England.

You know my hand well enough for me to write to you, without beginning or end. Yet that you may not shew me the less confidence, I cease not endeavouring to serve you in everything that I can. I send to you Thomas Cook, to let you know that, in case you do not find opportunity of passing quickly into England, you can do nothing which appears to me more for the benefit of your affairs, than to confer with Monsieur de Turenne, whom I have seen to-day, and who is willing and wishes, as much as anybody can do, to render you service. If you find it convenient, it must be with the greatest secrecy, for it is of his own accord, without any order, that he wishes this, and he goes to Amiens to give you the opportunity of so doing. You will go by Amiens, or Montreuil, or Abbeville, as you think best, and will send him this bearer, to give him notice of it, and the rendezvous at Amiens, where he will be, and will await until Monday tidings from you. If you meet each other, he will propose to you some other journey, of which you may believe I shall not be sorry. All this is of the greatest secrecy; and I assure you, the only end which I have in all this, is your service alone, without any other.

Paris, August 27th, 1659.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The occasion of this note was the death of the queen's only surviving brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans.

Cousin,

I am much affected, on this occasion of the loss of my brother, with the evidence you give me of the part you take in all that concerns me. I have been very sensibly touched, by having seen written by your own hand the consolation which I receive. I need not beg you to preserve the same affection for me, nor assure you how inviolably I am on my part, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Paris, February 27th, 1660.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 3. Holograph.]

These notes, following in rapid succession, were on the interesting epoch when the often-deceived hopes of the queen were at length about to be realized, in the restoration of her son to the throne of his fathers.

I did not think of writing to you this post, having done so only two days ago, and having nothing more to say to you than I have already done, but I have received from two persons, two letters for you, which I wished to accompany with mine. One from our mother of Chaillot, the other from a good Jesuit father, whom you have seen at Colombe, whose name you will see in his letter. That of the good father needs no reply; you have only to write me word what you wish me to say to him on your behalf—if you were to write to a Jesuit, I am afraid it would make too much noise. As to our mother, a short

line will not cause any. This is all the subject of this letter, praying God to finish the work that he has begun to your satisfaction, being assured that yours will always be mine.

Colombe, May 21, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 112. Holograph.]

Having learned from this post from Holland, that you were to set out to-day to embark at Scheveling, my prayers will accompany you. As Orby is going to join you, I give him this letter, which is only to tell you how joyful I shall be when I hear of your arrival, and the anxiety I shall feel up to that time. I hope you will soon put me out of this suspense. As I doubt not that you will take care of those who have suffered for you, or for the king, your father, this bearer has had a good share therein. I hope that you will have him in consideration. This is all I will say for the present, not wishing to trouble your happy hours. God bless you.

Chaillot, June 1, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

Cousin,

I have always had proofs enough of the interest which you take in all that concerns me to prevent my

doubting your interest, in this occasion of the re-establishment of the king, my son. I hope you do me the justice to believe that I have always entertained a proper sense of your goodness, and that I shall carefully seek for every means of testifying it to you. I have given the Abbé Montague* orders to say more to you on this subject, not wishing to trouble you with a longer letter, knowing that you are ill, for which I assure you that I am in great trouble. I hope it will be nothing, and that you are persuaded that I am, with great sincerity, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Colombe, June 7, 1660.

Just as I finished my letter, an express has arrived from the king, my son, to tell me that he had set foot on land. Lord Jermyn will tell you all the particulars of it.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 120. Holograph.]

Progers arrived on Monday evening; you may judge of my joy, and if you are torn to pieces in England with "kindness" I have my share of it also in France. I am going this instant to Chaillot to hear the Te Deum sung, and from thence to Paris, to have bonfires lighted. We made them yesterday—I think I shall have all Paris. In fact you cannot imagine the joy that prevails here.

* Son of the Earl of Manchester, and long Henrietta's personal attendant.

We must, amidst all this, praise God ; all this is from His hand ; you can see that it is. I will not trouble you more, God bless you. I send a letter of Madame de Motteville, which M. de Montague has sent me open ; he sends me word that it was so when he received it ; he is in great trouble and wishes me to close it again, but I do not choose to do so.

Colombe, 5 o'clock in the morning.

June 9, 1660.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 113. Holograph.]

My joy for your arrival in England has been renewed by your arrival in London, and by seeing how everything goes on to your satisfaction. The hand of God is perceptibly traced therein, and I think that you are sufficiently persuaded of this to lead you to suitable reflections. I will finish my sermon, for fear of wearying you, and refer you to Progers, for all the news from hence.

My conscience is troubled about writing to you so often, but at this beginning, one must often be troublesome in writing : so many people come to beg me to recommend them to you, whom I cannot refuse, being old servants, and that is the cause of it.

As to what concerns my own affairs, my Lord Jermyn wrote me word of the care you take about them, therefore I will say nothing of them. He will inform you of the gift the king your father made me when he was still

living; he made it me in case of his death, to compensate the expence of my house, which was within his, which I believe you do not know. This is why I mention it, and conclude with my usual prayers that God may bless you.

Colombe, June 18, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 114. French Holograph.]

It will be remarked how many of the following notes are in favour of the old and tried servants of Charles I.

The bearers of this letter have desired a line from me, that they may pay their respects to you, which is all that they desire: their father having been killed in the service of the king, your father, I do not doubt you will receive them well. They have been brought up at Jally (?) if you wish to ask them tidings of some of your acquaintance of the place, they will tell it you. This is all the subject of this letter, therefore I will say no more.

God bless you.

Colombe, June 22, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Addit. MS. 18,738, folio 117. Holograph.]

M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador who had negotiated the peace with Cromwell, had evidently been exposed to some insult in the English court, for which the queen was anxious to apologise.

Cousin,

The Abbé Montague has given me your letter, and on account of all that you had charged him to say to me. I beg you to believe that I entertain all possible sense of it, and that there is no opportunity which I do not seek to testify it to you, which I have ordered him to assure you of more at length; and also to tell you all the particulars of what has happened in England, concerning M. de Bourdeaux, about which I am quite in pain, and could have wished that it had never happened. I hope that, by your prudence, you will remedy any ill consequences which might follow from it, for I am very sure that the king, my son, has no design to do anything which could offend France. I leave it to M. Montague to discourse with you more particularly about it, till I can do so myself, which I hope will be soon, and shew you that I am, with all imaginable sincerity, sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Colombe, June 28, 1660.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 47. Holograph.]

This bearer, Sir Walter Hastings, having earnestly desired me to write to you by him, I would not refuse him, as he served the late king your father. He will tell you his requests; I beg you to listen to him favourably. I will not trouble you more, as I have already done so

often in this manner. You know well that at these beginnings, it is very disagreeable not to do it here. God bless you, and make you as happy as I wish.

Colombe, June 29, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 115. French Holpgraph.]

This bearer, my Lord Andover,* going to join you, I fear that, on account of his religion, he cannot be admittèd to your service, which induces me to beg you for him, that in case that cannot be, you will recompence him in some way; and in truth that is only justice. He has always faithfully served us, and has suffered much. I recommend him to you with all the earnestness I can, and beg you to let him know it. I will say no more, this letter being only on this subject.

Colombe, July 1, 1660.

To the king, my son.

To Mary, Princess of Orange.

[Lambeth MS. 645. Art. 116.]

When the Princess of Orange was going to England, on her brother's restoration, the queen was very anxious that she should first pay her a visit, but the objections raised by Charles II., prevented the fulfilment of her wishes.

I sent you word last week to hold yourself in readiness to set out as soon as you can, and I pray and entreat you to do so; they will be very glad here to receive you, your sister's marriage being in a manner con-

* Charles Howard, son and heir of Thomas Earl of Berkshire.

cluded ;*—that is to say, that the king, your brother and I, wish it much, and they are going to send a despatch into England on that behalf — you could not do better than to come. I may perhaps go into England also ; if that happens, you will be all ready for the journey. If I do not go, and the king, your brother wishes you to go, you shall set off from here to go to him ; and even should he bid you to go at once, as I have heard he will do, my very resolute reply will be to send him word that you wished to see me in passing, and to see your sister. I shall expect you with much impatience. Send me word, in case you come, when you can be here. The little Duke of Richmond, is just dead ; you will do well to write to the duchess. I hope to see you so soon that I will say no more.

God bless you.

Colombe, $\frac{10^{\text{th}}}{20^{\text{th}}}$ August, 1660.

To Charles II.

[Lambeth MS. 645, Art. 117. Holograph.]

On the 26th of August (N. S.) took place the splendid entry into Paris of Maria Theresa of Spain, bride of the young king Louis XIV. The niece, whose stickling for etiquette proved so troublesome, was the *Grande Mademoiselle*, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, whose gossiping memoirs present so vivid a picture of the court of Louis XIV.

* The marriage alluded to, is that of the Princess Henrietta Anne to Philip, Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV.

De Mercey will tell you all that passed yesterday, at the queen's entry, which was very beautiful. There has been much disputing about ranks ; there were even three dukes sent away from Paris, MM.d'Uzes, de Didiere, and Chaune, because they would not march with the new dukes, and pretended to march before the Conte de Soissons. As to myself, I have also my share in the disputes ; my niece wishes my daughter to give her the precedence at my house, saying that the Prince [of Condé] told her the Duke of York had always given it him at Tournelle. The queen asked me if it were true. For my own part, I knew not how to answer her, knowing nothing about it ; but I told her that in France he had never done it. The queen has scolded my niece, and told her that if the Duke of York had done it in Flanders, he would not do it in France, nor my daughter neither. She has written a letter to the cardinal, in which she complains of the queen, saying that the queen lowers the house of France for a bastard of Spain, and that Don Juan has had the precedence, and that she does not maintain the grandchildren of France, who should have it rather than he. At length the queen was very angry with her, and told her that nobody but a mad woman would act as she did. Notwithstanding that, she visits me no more since she has returned, nor her little sisters. I am told also, that the Princess [of Condé] will come no more. It is a long time since she has been. You see how necessary it is in this world to yield nothing on whatever occasion it may arise. You cannot imagine the

stupid speech to which all this gives rise, and I confess to you, that only to imagine a dispute of this nature, enrages me, not for myself but for you.

When my Lord St. Alban's* comes, he will tell you many things more on this matter, which would be too long, but I could not refrain from beginning something of it — but I conclude.

Colombe, $\frac{17^{\text{th}}}{27^{\text{th}}}$ August, 1660.

To Charles II.

[Ibid. Art. 118.]

This note refers to the above named visit of the Princess Royal to France.

I have received your letter by my Lord Grandison, in which you send me word that it is necessary for my daughter to pass quickly into England, for her own affairs and those of her son. On her writing me that you had ordered her to come this way, and that you had written so to me, I have used all diligence for that purpose, and have received letters from her in which she tells me that she is setting out in a very few days; so that, before any letter that I might have written could have reached her, she would have been on the road. I also think that her visit here cannot prejudice her affairs at all, as it will only be *en passant*. The desire which she has to come, and that which I have to see her, cannot

* Lord Jermyn, now created Earl of St. Albans.

permit me to send her backward without giving you reason to suspect me of little love; but, if you had advertised me earlier of your wish, it would have been punctually followed. My Lord St. Albans sets out to-morrow, and will inform you of all, more at length.

Colombe, 5th September, 1660.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Archives des Affaires Etrangères.]

The following notes were written during the queen's absence on a journey to England, whither she went with her young daughter, to congratulate on the restoration. The allusion in the first to the Duke of York, refers to his recent marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Chancellor Hyde, the great Earl of Clarendon, which the queen long hesitated to sanction.

Cousin,

Immediately on my arrival in this place, I was wishful to give you notice of it, and that I shall embark to-morrow, if the wind continue as it is, and also to renew to you the protestations I made to you on my departure, and that I shall punctually observe all concerning which we agreed together. I have received all the assurances of friendship which I could desire from the king my son. As for the Duke of York, he conforms to all I have proposed to him, wherefore I shall comfort myself with him as you have thought suitable. You shall hear from me again, as soon as I have seen the king, my son. I am, in all sincerity, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

I rejoice in the good tidings of your health which are given me; I pray you to be careful of it, that you may keep your promise with me, as I shall keep mine with you.

[October 27th.]
Calais, Nov. 7, 1660.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Ibid.]

Cousin,

This is to tell you of my arrival in this city, and how the king, my son, has received me with all testimonies of love which could be. M. de Montague will render you a more particular account of it: therefore referring you to him, I will content myself with assuring you of my constant gratitude for the tokens of your friendship which I have received, and of which I ask the continuation, and that you will believe that I am, with all imaginable sincerity, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

London, this $\frac{1^{\text{st}}}{11^{\text{th}}}$ November, 1660.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

[Ibid.]

Cousin,

Although I have ordered the Abbé Montague to write to you at great length about everything, I would

not refrain from telling you that I have thought proper to delay my return for a fortnight, that I may see the end of this Parliament, and may finish some business relating to my household; to which I will add nothing more than the confirmation of the protestations which I have made you, with the utmost sincerity, that I am, cousin,

Your very affectionate cousin,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

Loudon, this 9th December, 1660.

To Cardinal Mazarin.

To Madame de Motteville.

[Motteville's Memoires, Petitot's edit. part v. p. 126.]

This sprightly note was written after the queen's return to Paris, when the French court, including the Queen Dowager, the Queen Consort of France, and the Duke of Orleans, who had recently married the Princess Henrietta Anne of England, were rustivating at Fontainebleau. The Princess Henrietta, is "the other edition of myself," alluded to by the queen at the close of her letter.

I fancy you are saying in your heart, "This Queen of England has quite forgotten me." That is not true, M. Montague will tell you that I have really remembered you. By these presents, I confess to a little laziness, and that I was wrong not to send you word of my satisfaction in having received two letters from you. I beg you to continue them, provided you have leisure, but I saw some ladies yesterday who came from Fontainebleau, and who tell me that you are always with the queens, and that one cannot have access to you. I am even afraid from the

manner in which they spoke, that letters can scarcely come near you.

If you have much noise where you are, I have here much silence, which is more suitable for remembering one's friends, and I beg you to believe yourself of the number of mine, and to be assured of the continuation of my friendship. You have with you another little edition of myself, who is, I assure you, very much your friend. Continue to be hers. I have said enough.

June 1661.

To Charles II.

[French Correspondence, State Paper Office.]

The following notes though slight, are the only specimens remaining of the correspondence of Henrietta Maria during her latter years.

I have been requested by persons whom I wish to oblige, to write you in favour of a merchant, called Jean Battiste Coureur, who, having left Paris to do business in Ireland, as a merchant, according to your declaration, in passing to London, has been taken prisoner, without other cause as they tell me; wherefore I pray you to command my Lord Arlington to see what it is, in order that if there be ground to set him at liberty again, you may do it for the love of me. This letter being only on this subject, I will not make it longer than to wish you every happiness.

Chaillot, 17th January, 1666.

To the king, my son.

To Lord Arlington.

[Ibid.]

Sending this bearer, Simmons, to the Duke of York, on the subject of his sickness, I have commanded him to see the king on my behalf, and have written to him. I have also commanded him to address himself to you to be presented to him; and as I shall be very impatient to have news concerning his voyage, and also of all other things, in a way as sure as this, you will lend a hand to hasten him back to me as soon as possible. When opportunity offers, I shall be very glad to show you that I am as much persuaded of your friendship, as you ought to be of mine, and that I shall ever be, with all sincerity.

Very much your friend.

Paris, 30th November, 1667.

To my Lord Arlington.

To Charles II.

[Ibid.]

The daughter of Mr. Borell, ambassador from Holland in this country, having caused it to be represented to me, that the sums of money lent have not been paid to the said ambassador, and the ruin which has fallen upon her, more particularly than on the other children, for want of payment, because the said money had been destined for her marriage, the merit of the girl, and the justice of her claims have obliged me to pass over all that of which I am only too well informed, in reference to the state in which you are, in order to beg you, as far as

your affairs will permit, to have regard towards this girl, as favourable as her losses and the nature of her claims, considered in their circumstances, demands. I beg it of you with all possible earnestness. And the present being only for this single subject, I will not make it longer. I pray God to bless you.

Colombe, 25th September, 1668.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid.]

My sister of Vendôme,* sending this gentleman to you, to speak to you of her affairs, on the debt which you owe to my deceased brother of Vendôme, has begged me to write to you by him, that you would consider her, which I have not known how to refuse. He will tell you all. I have strongly assured her, that all you can do you will do. I do not very well understand the affair, wherefore I will not say more, than beg you to hear him favourably, —praying God to bless you.

Colombe, 12th October, 1668.

To the king, my son.

To Charles II.

[Ibid.]

In the two preceding letters allusion has been made to the poverty of the English court, which was mainly induced by its reckless extravagance. Pressed on every hand, the graceless king at last resolved to retrench, by one-fourth, the income which his

* The Duke of Vendôme, was a natural son of Henry IV.

mother, as queen dowager, received from her dower lands in England; and Lord Arlington wrote to the Earl of St. Alban's, the queen's chamberlain, to announce the decision.

St. Alban's thus replied, "I have made the queen acquainted with the contents of your last, she hath written to the king and to you upon the subject, by which letters you will perceive how unlooked for this blow is aimed, and with what inconveniences it will oblige her to struggle with, if the resolution of this retrenchment do stand. She pretends to have measured her expenses so just by her revenue, that you may imagine what a kind of diminution must follow in one, by one of this proposition in the other, and how practicable it is. But she having taken upon herself the delivering her sense in the matter, you need not be troubled with my discourses."*

The letters of the queen on the subject were as follows :—

The letter which, by your command, my Lord Arlington wrote to my Lord St. Albans, on the subject of my affairs, has surprised me to a degree that it is very difficult to express to you, it not having entered into my imagination that you would have wished to retrench me, since you knew well yourself, I had come down as near to economy as I could for my subsistence; and notwithstanding that, I see that you wish still to deprive me of part of what I have. I feel assured that when you have reflected, you will change your opinion, and will not wish to render the rest of my days, which will be short, unfortunate, by the debts for which I stand engaged, on your word, always putting confidence in what you promised me: and I assure you what touches my heart most

* French Correspondence, December 10, 1668. State Paper Office.

is that people see that your saving extends to your mother, and that for want of twenty thousand jacobuses, she may be in the greatest inconvenience : it is difficult to be persuaded of this, and that this sum ruins you. I have never greatly importuned you since your return to England ; I cannot avoid doing it. I hope to have news from you promptly, in order to determine what I am to expect, and what is to become of me. Think well I conjure you, and you will find that what you shall do for me cannot draw any inference for any other. I end by conjuring you again to think well of it, and to give me a speedy answer. I pray God to bless you.

Paris, December 9, 1668.

To the king, my son.

To Lord Arlington.

[Ibid.]

I have seen, with the greatest astonishment, the letter which you wrote to my lord St. Alban's, by the king's command, not being able to conceive how it could be believed that it would be possible for me to subsist, with such a retrenchment. I had already, with no little trouble, reduced my expences to the exact amount of my revenue, and had given notice of it to the king, who approved it. The losses which I have had with people who do not pay me the taxes of these past years, with the debts I had before, have reduced me to inconveniences difficult enough to overcome, without this last blow. I have written concerning all to the king, and persuade

myself that you will find me so based upon right and justice as to give me, in this *rencontre*, the effect of your services, and of your offices. I on my part shall preserve the sense of it, with all the friendship which I have promised you.

Paris 9th December, 1668.

To Monsieur de Arlington.

Arlington made some semblance of an effort to obtain an alteration in this arrangement, which gratified the queen, but produced no other result; and even Jermyn himself, though the queen's most intimate friend and officer, was courtier enough to write as follows : * —

“ The queen's retreat into Chaillot for this time of devotion, will keep you a week longer, I suppose, from any answer from her hand. The reasons of retrenching the queen was grounded, in my opinion, upon so invincible necessities, that if I could have prevailed, I should rather have wished that at first she would have applied herself to have secured that which you were pleased to write to me was the state of the resolution, than to have struggled for a change at present.”

The preceding is the last letter of Queen Henrietta Maria, which is known to be in existence. It occurs but a few months before her death. This volume may be appropriately closed by a few unpublished extracts from the pen of Lord St. Albans, recording the circumstances attending her last sickness, as they were transmitted by him to the English government.

The first is to Lord Arlington, dated April 10th, 1669.

“ My lord,

“ I have given his majesty so many assurances of the queen's amendment, and indeed deliverance, out of the inconveniences and danger of her sickness, that I am afraid to pass for an un-

* French Correspondence, December 28th. State Paper Office.

faithful relator of the condition she is in ; pray be pleased to let him know shat she is not yet near so well as we wish to see her. She hath, since my last, taken very little rest at nights, and consequently recovered very little strength, which hath given the physicians cause to apprehend some remainder of the disease in her body, though not to a degree to have disclosed itself in any heat or emotion of a visible fever, only an oppression in her stomach, for which, yesterday they let her blood, for the third time since this sickness, in her foot ; her rest this night hath not been so good as was hoped her bleeding would have procured. She had a little fever in the night, which is not yet totally gone, and therefore they have again, this morning, let her blood in the arm. Her fever is so little, that it can scarce be discerned whether she have any or no ; and if it increase not, there is cause to be as confident as we have been that the danger is past ; if the fever increase, as nobody is safe in such assaults, so she that is of so delicate a constitution, will be more to be apprehended than other in the like case. You will easily conjecture that, in this state of the matter, I am not like to remove from hence until I see a change of it, and her health perfectly established.* I had resolved to have parted to-morrow, and had writ to the king, that I hoped to attend him at Easter—this change of the queen puts me upon a total uncertainty,† &c.

“ ST. ALBAN.”

The next despatch is dated April 17th.

“ The queen hath continued since my last, in as good a condition as could have been expected from that she was in, no return of fever, or any of those inconveniences she complained of, but all diminishing apace, and she recovering her strength as fast. She coughs not much, and the matter she spits is not ill-conditioned ; she takes still asses’ milk, and I believe to-morrow she will be purged, from whence is expected the last hand of her recovery.

* This earl was contemplating a visit to England.

† French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

This sets me at liberty. I intend to part on Wednesday next, and wait upon you by such stages as old men with the gout are wont to make."

The queen improved so much, that St. Albans was able to take his intended journey into England, where he was absent several months. In June, the queen had another attack, from which she rapidly recovered,* and in August, she was well enough to pay a visit to her daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, at St. Cloud: but she soon after became worse; a consultation of physicians was held, opium was administered, and she slept, never to wake again. The circumstances of, and consequent upon her decease are thus detailed by St. Albans to Charles II., and to Lord Arlington, in letters preserved in the State Paper Office.

"Sire,

"If that which hath happened here either could, or ought to be concealed from you, my hand should not be the first in giving you notice of it. It hath pleased God to take from us, this morning, about 3 o'clock, the queen, your mother; and notwithstanding her long sickness, as unexpectedly, and with as much surprise as if she never had been sick at all. On Saturday last, she had a consultation of physicians, at which assisted M. Vallot, M. d' Acquin, M. Esprit, and M. Eccelin: the result of the consultation was to give her the usual remedy on Sunday night, for preparing her, against Monday morning, to be purged, with a certain opiate designed for that purpose. It was also a result of the consultation to give, towards night, in order to the quieting of the humours in her body, from whence they conjectured the great disorder came, with some rest, a grain of laudanum. About 10 o'clock, she was in too much heat to venture the grain of laudanum, and the resolution was taken not to give it at all. She caused thereupon her curtains to be drawn, and sent us all away, just as she used to do several nights before — fearing her yet no more

* Montague's Despatch, 1st June, 1669. French Correspondence, State Paper Office.

than she had done, nor indeed imprinting in any of us the least imagination of that which immediately followed. Not being able to sleep of herself, she called to M. d'Acquin for the grain; he, contrary to his former resolution, and as he sayeth, to his opinion when he did it, suffered himself to be overruled by the queen, and gave it her in the yolk of an egg; she fell presently asleep; he sitting by her, perceiving her to sleep too profoundly, and her pulse to alter, endeavoured by all the means he could to wake her, and bring her to herself, but could effect neither, by all the several remedies used in such cases: she lasted thus till between three and four o'clock, and then died.

“That which doth further concern this matter I shall give my Lord Arlington an account of. God of heaven give you all necessary consolations in it.

“ST. ALBAN.”

Colombe, Sept. 10, 1669.

The following are addressed to Lord Arlington:—

“I wrote to you yesterday, with so much sadness of heart, and confusion of mind, that I omitted the most important things whereof I should have spoken to you, which are the letting you know the state we are in for matters of money, and to desire of you his majesty's direction for our behaviour, in the indispensable ones that now will fall upon our hands; as the burial, the mourning for the family, the discharge of this quarter, now almost at an end, and somewhat besides to give to the poorer sort, to carry them home into England. The queen, for aught I know, is dead without any will at all; and consequently the whole family left as entirely to his majesty's mercy as all things else to his disposition; if there be any will, it can be only that which she made at her last coming out of England, and left in the hands of Sir Harry Wood, but since called for back by herself, and delivered to her. The intention of calling back for it was to cancel it, and make another, but whether that be cancelled cannot be now known, until the king's directions come to open everything; for all is sealed up. If that remain, it will alter very little of the present

case. I was acquainted with it; it was only to take care of certain debts mentioned in it, and all things else left to the king's disposing: I suppose,—very contrary to that which is by some imagined here,—that the queen's dying in France doth not alter that which would have been the case if she had died in England, which is that the king is her sole heir, without any right in the Duke of York, Monsieur,* or the Prince of Orange of sharing: but of this you will be better informed in England by those of the profession of judging.

“You are now to be acquainted with the purpose, last night communicated to me, touching the burial: the King and Monsieur are as yet resolved that the heart shall be this day carried to Chaillot, and there deposited; the body to-morrow to St. Denis, and deposited there until they can be ready for a great ceremonial funeral, suitable to the dignity of the person: this they have thought of, without thinking, for anything I know, of the charge, or conferring with those acquainted with the present state of the family, in point of finances. I am also ignorant whether the intention be that this charge should be made by the king our master, or this king; as ignorant as I am what kind of charge the king our master would be at, and how far he would admit of the king of France's being at any or all of these things. I entreat you earnestly that I may receive direction, the soonest that can be possible. I am going in this instant to St. Cloud, to meet the ambassador there, to be informed more particularly of their purposes, and to inform them of that I know of our estate in the house, and that I am yet utterly ignorant what will be the king's pleasure, which must guide in all: we shall not end at St Cloud before the parting of the post, but if there rise occasion out of the discourse for an express, you shall have one; if not, a perfect account by the next.

“Our condition in the family is this: we had made an estate of the expence which was to be discharged, with some other moneys of the queen, but chiefly by twenty-seven thousand pounds under-

* The Duke of Orleans, husband of the Princess Henrietta.

taken to be advanced by Verbeck and Sir Thomas Bond, upon an engagement of the queen's that they should be reimbursed out of the first moneys growing and due upon the queen's revenue; Sir Harry Wood having the queen's positive orders for the paying to Verbeck all the queen's moneys as they came in, to the concurrence of their reimbursement: they have received some eight thousand or ten thousand pounds. I am thus particular in this matter to let you know that the easiest way of carrying on things here with decency is, in my opinion, that the king give command to Sir Harry Wood to send for Verbeck, and that he assure him that the payment of this twenty-seven thousand pounds shall go on, just as if the queen had lived, and that the king do further command Sir Harry Wood to be as instant as he can with the receivers to bring in their money, and that it be paid incessantly to Verbeck.

"This, as I said before to you, is in my sense, the easiest way for present supplies; if you approve of it, you will give order accordingly; if not, you will be pleased to appoint what shall be done, in the particulars mentioned, and by what other means. You ought to pity me as much as to lament yourself, that you receive this trouble from my hand. I have no more pleasure in the matter than I am like to find in others, but receiving no reproaches from my own heart for not having done my duty to the queen during her life, so I would have that I owe to her memory of the same piece.

"I am your most humble and most obedient servant,

"ST. ALBAN."

Colombe, Sept. 11, 1669.

"Since mine of this morning to you, we met at St. Cloud the ambassador and several others, for the last resolution for the burial; and it was resolved not much differing from that of which you are advertised. The heart is carried this day to Chaillot, the body will be carried to-morrow to St. Denis, and both deposited; the body for six or seven weeks, until the great ceremony of the final interment. We were all of opinion that the king cannot dis-

pense with the charge of the mourning for the family, of entertaining it to the end of this month, as if the queen were alive, and defraying the charges of depositing the heart at Chaillot, and the body at St. Denis. When the final ceremonies are to be made, it is alleged to us that the King of France of course doth always make them at his charge, so that the king is to hear of no more than that mentioned; what that will be I do not perfectly well know, but I can give a near guess: the mourning will be, as I think, between five and twenty thousand and thirty thousand livres; the present charge for Chaillot and St. Denis about five thousand or six thousand: that of continuing the house to the end of the month is not to be counted, for even if not requisite in order to this matter, it could not in itself be dispensed with: for the discharge of these expences, I again repeat to you there is no better expedient than that I have proposed in mine of this morning. I have no more to trouble you, and it is no wonder, after those you have received from me in these two days.

"I am your most humble and most obedient servant,

"ST. ALBAN."

Colombe, Sept. 11, 1669.

Debt and difficulty marked the closing scenes of the life of the unfortunate queen. A minute and curious inventory of the entire furniture of her house at Colombe,* and of her personal effects at the time of her decease is preserved in the State Paper Office, and proves how limited, during her declining years, was the scale of the establishment of this Queen of England, and daughter of France.

* In it are marginal annotations of the decision of Charles II. as to the disposal of the articles named.

THE END.

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